

Marko SINOBAD

# KAPITOLIJSKI HRAMOV I U HRVATSKOJ

## CAPITOLINE TEMPLES IN CROATIA

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

UDK: 726.1(497.5)"652"

Primljeno / Received: 7. 2. 2007.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 9. 11. 2007.

Marko Sinobad

Ministarstvo kulture

Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine

Runjaninova 2

HR – 10000 ZAGREB

marko.sinobad@min-kulture.hr

*U Hrvatskoj i stranoj znanstvenoj literaturi uvriježilo se mišljenje da su rimski gradovi sa statusom kolonija imali hram posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi, to jest vrhovnomu Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi, i da su samo kolonije imale ekskluzivno pravo na podizanje tih hramova. Rezultati novijih istraživanja izazivaju sumnju u tu tvrdnju jer ukazuju na puno kompleksniju situaciju od one koja je dosad prezentirana. U Hrvatskoj je više hramova identificirano s hramovima Kapitolijske trijade iako ne postoji dovoljno argumenata za takve zaključke. S promjenama koje je označilo Oktavijanovo odnosno Augustovo vrijeme, kult Kapitolijske trijade izgubio je značenje koje je imao u vrijeme Republike. Jačanje uloge princepsa u rimskoj državi odrazilo se i na državnu religiju. Iako se kult Kapitolijske trijade može pratiti sve do 3. stoljeća, težište je imperijalne propagande bilo na kultu vladara i vladarske obitelji, naročito u 1. stoljeću. S obzirom na to da su središnji forumski hramovi rimskih gradova i naselja bili glavni medijatori imperijalne propagande, javni kult koji se u njima obavljao treba promatrati u tome kontekstu.*

*Ključne riječi: Dalmacija, Istra, Panonija, urbanizam, kapitoliji, Kapitolijska trijada, imperijalizam, propaganda*

*The prevailing view in Croatian and foreign scholarly literature is that Roman cities with colony status had temples dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, i.e. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva, and that only colonies were exclusively entitled to build these temples. The results of more recent research raises doubts in this assertion, because they indicate a much more complex situation than that presented so far. In Croatia, a number of temples have been identified as temples of the Capitoline Triad, even though such conclusions are not sufficiently backed by sound arguments. The cult of the Capitoline Triad lost the significance it had during the Republic era after the onset of the changes brought by the reign of Octavian, i.e. Augustus. The strengthening of the role of the princeps in the Roman Empire was also reflected in the imperial religion. Even though the cult of the Capitoline Triad can be followed until the third century, the focus of imperial propaganda was placed on the ruler cult, particularly in the first century. Since the central forum temples of Roman cities and settlements were the principal disseminators of imperial propaganda, the public cult observed in them must be viewed in this context.*

*Key words: Dalmatia, Istria, Pannonia, urban planning, Capitolium, Capitoline Triad, imperialism, propaganda*

Među brojnim gradovima državama koje su se pojavile u Laciju potkraj 7. st. pr. Kr. izdvaja se grad Rim po jedinstvenome tijeku svoje povijesti. Iz okvira

Among the numerous city states which emerged in Latium at the end of the seventh century BC, the

grada rimska se državna organizacija postepeno proširila na čitavu Italiju i Mediteran. Nastala je kao kraljevstvo, preobrazila se najprije u republiku, a onda u carstvo u kojemu je bio objedinjen prostor od Luzitanije na zapadu do Mezopotamije na istoku te od Britanije i rijeka Rajne i Dunava na sjeveru do Sjeverne Afrike i Egipta na jugu. Kako su ova područja bila kulturološki heterogena, pod rimskom su dominacijom bila izložena procesu koji popularno nazivamo romanizacijom. Kao svojevrsan tip globalizacije romanizacija se kroz djelovanje državnih rimskih institucija u provincijama s više ili manje uspjeha implementirala na gotovo čitav spomenuti prostor. Za ovaj je proces najvažnija bila materijalna preobrazba. Domet kulturne promjene ovisio je prije svega o mogućnostima tehničke i 'opipljive' inovacije (MacMullen 1968: 337; 1990: 57–58), što je bio uvjet da nerimsko stanovništvo prihvati rimsku kulturu. Stoga je reprodukcija rimskoga urbanizma bila imperativ za širenje rimske kulture. U rimskim se provincijama najviše gradilo za vladanja careva Augusta i Hadrijana (MacMullen 1959: 209).

Kapitolij, hram na rimskome Kapitolu posvećen vrhovnomu Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi, dugo je kroz antičku povijest bio religijsko i političko središte rimske države. Svojom je funkcijom, ponekad i arhitekturom, predstavljao model prema kojemu su Rimljani planirali urbanizam italskih i provincijskih gradova (sl. 1). Diljem Carstva nailazi se na realizaciju Vitruvijeva predloška o izboru gradilišta za javne zgrade (I, 7, 1) koji nalaže da se za hramove posvećene božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade odabere najdominantnije i najistaknutije mjesto odakle se vidi najveći dio grada.



Slika 1. Rim: model rekonstrukcije hrama vrhovnoga Jupitera, 580–509. g. pr. Kr. (Stamper 2005: 7).

Figure 1. Rome: model of reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 580–509 BC (Stamper 2005: 7).

Najraniji hramovi koji su rađeni po uzoru na rimski kapitolij podignuti su u susjednim rimskim kolonijama Cosa i Signia u Laciju, a datiraju se u sredinu 2. st.

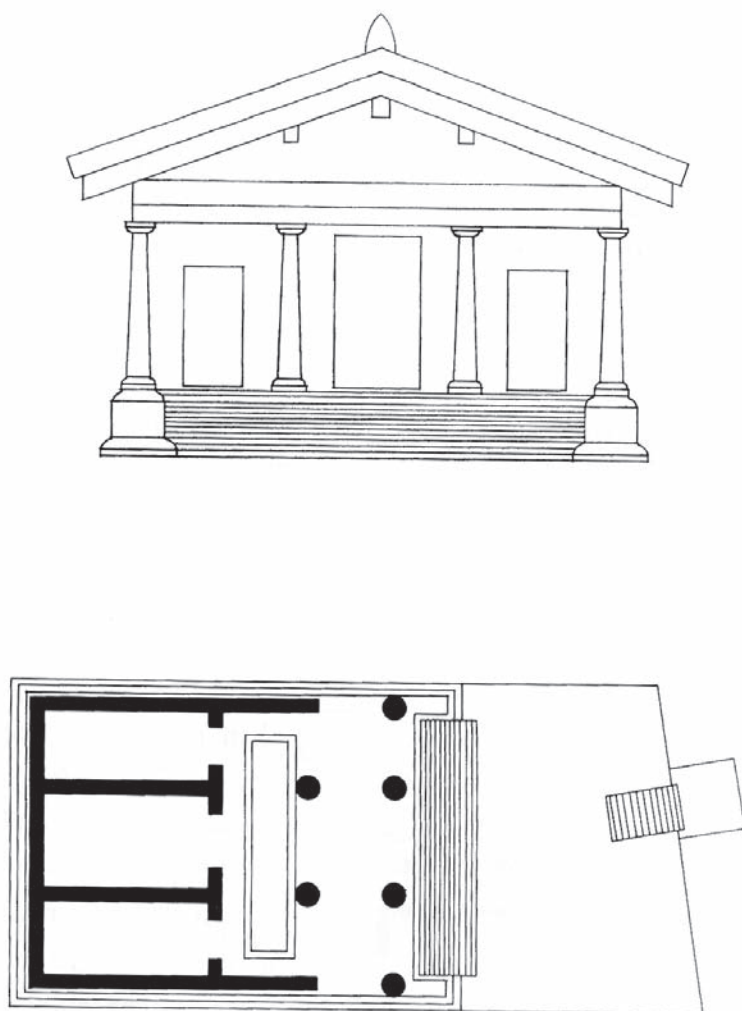
city of Rome stands out thanks to the unique course of its history. Based on the framework of the city, the Roman state gradually expanded to encompass all of Italy and the Mediterranean. It originated as a kingdom, then became a republic, and then an empire which unified the territory from Lusitania in the west to Mesopotamia in the east and from Britain and the Rhine and Danube Rivers in the north to Northern Africa and Egypt in the south. Since these areas were culturally heterogeneous, under Roman domination they were subject to a process popularly called Romanisation. As the globalisation of its time, Romanisation was implemented more or less successfully throughout most of the aforementioned territories through the operation of Roman state institutions in the provinces. Material transformation was the most important to this process. The range of cultural change depended primarily on the possibilities of technical and 'tangible' innovations (MacMullen 1968: 337; 1990: 57–58), which was a condition for the non-Roman population to accept Roman culture. The reproduction of Roman urban planning was thus an imperative to the dissemination of Roman culture. Most construction was carried out in the Roman provinces during the reigns of the emperors Augustus and Hadrian (MacMullen 1959: 209).

The Capitulum, the temple on Rome's Capitoline Hill dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva, was long the religious and political centre of the Roman state throughout ancient history. Its function, and sometimes architecture, constituted a model used by the Romans when engaged in urban planning in the Italic and provincial cities (Fig. 1). Throughout the Empire one can find architecture based on the Vitruvius's models on selection of sites for public buildings (I, 7, 1), which dictate that the most prominent and imposing sites with views of most of the city should be chosen for temples dedicated to the deities of the Capitoline Triad.

The earliest temples modelled after the Roman Capitulum, such as Cosa and Signia, were erected in the neighbouring Roman colonies in Latium, and they date to the mid-second century BC (Fears 1981: 106). These temples were still constructed in the manner of the classical Etruscan temples, with Tuscan columns and wooden roofing (Boëthius 1962: 252). It was only after the Second Punic War that extensive construction activities began in the Italic cities, in which Roman architecture was imbued with Hellenistic architectural forms (Todd 1985: 58; Stamper 2005: 49). Porticos and public buildings raised at the time along city forums influenced the appearance of numerous subsequent imperial

pr. Kr. (Fears 1981: 106). Ti su hramovi još uvijek bili građeni u maniri klasičnoga etruščanskog hrama, s tuskanskim stupovima i drvenim krovštem (Boëthius 1962: 252). Tek su nakon drugoga punskog rata u italjskim gradovima počele opsežne građevinske aktivnosti koje su rimsku arhitekturu prožele izvornim helenističkim arhitektonskim oblicima (Todd 1985: 58; Stamper 2005: 49). Portici i javne građevine koje su tada podizane uz gradske forume utjecale su na izgled brojnih kasnijih carskih forumskih kompleksa u Italiji i provincijama (Todd 1985: 58). Osim u Pompejima i u Cosi se nalazi jedan od najranijih primjera ovako organiziranoga forumskog prostora. Međutim ondje se kapitolij nije nalazio na gradskom forumu nego na prirodnome uzvišenju u južnome dijelu grada (Taylor 2002: 68, sl. 9). Hram u Cosi

forum complexes in Italy and the provinces (Todd 1985: 58). Besides Pompeii, Cosa is one of the earliest examples of a forum organised in this manner. However, here the Capitolium was not in the city forum but at a naturally elevated area in the city's southern section (Taylor 2002: 68, fig. 9). This temple in Cosa is a typical Etruscan temple with a tripartite cella, a deep pronaos, Tuscan columns and a wooden roof decorated with ceramic ante-fixae (Fig. 2) (Boëthius 1978: 131, fig. 127; Taylor 2002: 70, fig. 11, 74, fig. 16). It was constructed in about the year 160 BC, probably based on the model of the Roman Capitolium (Todd 1985: 59). This temple burned down at around 70 BC, and was then reconstructed during the reign of Augustus (Taylor 2002: 80, 81).



Slika 2. Cosa: hram vrhovnoga Jupitera, 150. g. pr. Kr. (Stamper 2005: 48).

Figure 2. Cosa: temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 150 BC (Stamper 2005: 48).

predstavlja tipičan etruščanski hram s tripartitnom celom, dubokim pronaosom, tuskanskim stupovima i drvenim krovom ukrašenim keramičkim antefiksi-

Most of the known Capitolia can be found in Roman Africa. Several assumptions can be made about the causes of this disproportion. One of them follows from the different territorial organisation of individual provinces. The African provinces were split into a larger number of small communities (*civitates*) which attained the status of city with time, while, for example, in Gaul and the Spanish provinces municipal life was concentrated around only a few cities to which a large region gravitated (Barton 1982: 260). A possible reason for the high number of Capitolia in the Roman African provinces is a climate conducive to quality preservation, geographic isolation and the lesser destruction of Africa in comparison to the remainder of the Roman Empire. The answer demands closer insight into the administration of the African and European provinces, and natural factors must also be taken into consideration.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF TEMPLES TO THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD

Prior to a discussion of the temples to the Capitoline Triad in Croatia, some attention shall be accorded to a definition of the term 'Capitolium', because in the scholarly literature it is used in different contexts. Ian M. Barton, the author of a relatively recent synthesis on Capitoline temples in Italy and the provinces, cites the following criteria which a



ma (sl. 2) (Boëthius 1978; 131, sl. 127; Taylor 2002: 70, sl. 11, 74, sl. 16). Izgrađen je oko 160. g. pr. Kr. vjerojatno po uzoru na rimski kapitolij (Todd 1985: 59). Ovaj hram izgorio je oko 70. g. pr. Kr, a bio je obnovljen za Augustova vladanja (Taylor 2002: 80, 81).

Najveći se broj poznatih kapitolija nalazi u rimskoj Africi. Možemo iznijeti samo nekoliko pretpostavki o uzrocima te disproporcije. Jedna od njih polazi od različite teritorijalne organizacije pojedinih provincija. Afričke su provincije bile podijeljene na veći broj malih zajednica (*civitates*) koje su s vremenom stekle status grada, dok je na primjer u Galiji i u španjolskim provincijama municipalni život bio koncentriran oko samo nekoliko gradova kojima je gravitiralo puno šire područje (Barton 1982: 260). Kao mogući razlog brojnosti kapitolija u afričkim rimskim provincijama trebalo bi spomenuti povoljne klimatske uvjete za kvalitetnu prezervaciju, geografsku izoliranost i manje razaranja Afrike u odnosu na ostala područja rimskoga carstva. Odgovor zahtijeva pomniji uvid u administraciju afričkih i europskih provincija, ali prirodne čimbenike svakako valja uzeti u obzir.

## KARAKTERISTIKE HRAMA KAPITOLIJSKE TRIJADE

Prije diskusije o hramovima Kapitolijske trijade u Hrvatskoj osvrnut ćemo se na definiciju pojma 'kapitolij' jer se u znanstvenoj literaturi upotrebljava u različitim kontekstima. Ian M. Barton, autor relativno nove sinteze o kapitolijskim hramovima u Italiji i provincijama, navodi sljedeće kriterije koje hram treba zadovoljiti da bi se mogao identificirati kao kapitolij: posvećen je Kapitolijskoj trijadi, to jest vrhovnom Jupiteru, Junoni Regini i Minervi Augusti; postoje kultne statue tih triju božanstava; ima odlike rimskoga hrama (npr. visok podij kojemu se prilazi stepenicama i pronaos sa stupovima); ima celu toliko prostranu da može primiti tri kultne statue i često je, ali ne i nužno, podijeljena na tri prostorije i ima dominantan položaj, obično u gradskome središtu (Barton 1982: 260–261).

Odmah je jasno da su iznimni oni hramovi koji ispunjavaju sve navedene uvjete. U Italiji kapitolij se spominje u šest natpisa (*Faesulae*: CIL XI 1545, *Falerio*: CIL IX 5438, *Histonium*: CIL IX 2842, *Ostia*: CIL XIV 32, *Marruvium Marsorum*: CIL IX 3688, *Verona*: CIL V 3332), ali se nijedan ne može identificirati kao kapitolij, a dva italska kapitolija koje spominju literarni izvori, u Kapui i Beneventu, dosad nisu ubicirani (Barton 1982: 262).

Pojam 'kapitolij' u hrvatskoj se literaturi često koristi za hramove koji ne ispunjavaju sve Bartonove

temple must meet to be identified as a Capitolium: dedication to the Capitoline Triad, i.e. to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina and Minerva Augusta; cult statues of these three deities; the form of a Roman temple (e.g. a high podium approached by steps and a pronaos with columns); a cella spacious enough to accommodate three cult statues and often, but not necessarily, divided into three rooms; a dominant location, normally in the city centre (Barton 1982: 260–261).

It is immediately clear that temples which meet all of these criteria are exceptionally rare. In Italy, a Capitolium is mentioned in six inscriptions (*Faesulae*: CIL XI 1545, *Falerio*: CIL IX 5438, *Histonium*: CIL IX 2842, *Ostia*: CIL XIV 32, *Marruvium Marsorum*: CIL IX 3688, *Verona*: CIL V 3332), but not one can be identified as a Capitolium, while the location of the two Italic Capitolia which are mentioned in literary sources, in Capua and Benevento, has so far not been pinpointed (Barton 1982: 262).

The term 'Capitolium' is often used in the Croatian literature to refer to temples that do not meet all of Barton's criteria. The reason behind this is a fragment from Aulus Gellius (XVI, 13, 8), in which it states that Capitolia were the privilege of cities with the status of colony. With this in mind, one can assume that Capitolia existed in all cities with colonial status (Suić 2003: 231). Sometimes temples are identified as dedicated to the Capitoline Triad solely on the basis of their central, most prominent location on a city square, which have tripartite cellae or because there are three temples next to each other. However, it is known that a number of such temples are not dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Saturn's temple and the temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome also have tripartite cellae (Stamper 2005: 36, 37). The Roman forum *Holitorium* is dominated by three temples all along its western side, one next to the other (*ibid.* 59). One is dedicated to Janus, one to Juno Sospita, one to the goddess Spes (*ibid.* 60). On the other hand, individual temples to the Capitoline Triad, such as the one in the Algerian city of Khamissa (*Thubursicum Numidarum*), have no tripartite cella (Barton 1982: 314). Thus, it is worthwhile to be cautious when identifying a given temple with the temples to the Capitoline Triad.

More recent research arouses doubt in the aforementioned claim by Aulus Gellius. There is some question of its accuracy if not chronologically limited. In Roman Africa there are many examples where the Capitolia, at least since the second half of the second century, were raised in communities that did not have colonial status but were simply villages (*pagus*) (Barton 1982: 278).

It would appear that the construction of Capitolia in the Roman colonies was not customary since Sulla's

kriterije identifikacije. Uzrok tomu jedan je odlomak Aula Gelija (XVI, 13, 8) u kojemu stoji da su kapitoliji bili privilegija gradova sa statusom kolonije. Uzmemo li to u obzir, možemo pretpostaviti da su kapitoliji postojali u svim gradovima koji su imali status kolonije (Suić 2003: 231). Ponekad se hramovi identificiraju s hramom Kapitolijske trijade samo na osnovi toga što zauzimaju središnju, najistaknutiju poziciju na gradskome trgu, što imaju tripartitno podijeljenu celu ili što postoje tri hrama jedan pored drugoga. Međutim poznato je više takvih hramova koji nisu posvećeni Kapitolijskoj trijadi. Saturnov hram i hram Kastora i Poluksa u Rimu također imaju tripartitnu celu (Stamper 2005: 36, 37). Rimskim forumom *Holitorium* dominiraju tri hrama podignuta duž njegove zapadne strane jedan pored drugoga (*ibid.* 59). Jedan je posvećen bogu Janu, drugi božici Junoni Spasiteljici, a treći božici Spes (*ibid.* 60). S druge strane pojedini hramovi Kapitolijske trijade, poput onoga u alžirskome gradu Khamissi (*Thubursicum Numidarum*), nemaju tripartitno podijeljenu celu (Barton 1982: 314). Zbog svega toga valja biti oprezan pri identificiranju određenih hramova s hramovima Kapitolijske trijade.

Novija istraživanja izazivaju sumnju u spomenu tu tezu Aula Gelija. Upitno je da li je točna ako se vremenski ne ograniči. U rimskoj Africi više je primjera gdje su kapitoliji, barem od druge polovice 2. stoljeća, bili podignuti u zajednicama koje nisu imale status kolonije nego samo sela (*pagus*) (Barton 1982: 278).

Čini se da podizanje kapitolija u rimskim kolonijama od Sulina vremena više nije bilo uobičajeno (*ibid.* 266). Zbog Sulina presedana u kolonizacijskoj politici takvi su zahtjevi mogli ostati neispunjeni. Naime kolonizacija koju je on pokrenuo nadišla je sve prethodne. Osiguravši konfiskacijom zemljište za nove rimske kolonije, Sula je u kratkome razdoblju diljem Italije kolonizirao sto dvadeset tisuća svojih veterana (Abbott 1915: 375). Trend zbrinjavanja isluženih vojnika nastavljen je i kasnije, a do Cezarova vremena kolonizacija je postala stalan proces. Cezar, a kasnije Oktavijan i ostali trijumviri, osnovali su izvan Italije između četrdeset i pedeset rimskih kolonija (*ibid.* 378). Za razliku od starijih kolonija njihovo osnivanje više je ovisilo o samovolji tih vojskovođa nego o senatskim odlukama (*ibid.* 380). Zbog političke strategije rješavanja potencijalnih društvenih nemira kolonizacijom i njezina užurbanoga tempa vrlo su se lako mogla zanemariti određena pravila urbanističke prakse, između ostalog i ono o obaveznoj gradnji kapitolija u rimskim kolonijama.

times (*ibid.* 266). Such demands may have remained unfulfilled due to Sulla's precedent in colonisation policy. The colonisation that he embarked upon surpassed all previous cases. Ensuring land for the new Roman colonies by means of confiscation, in a short period Sulla colonised one hundred twenty thousand of his veterans throughout Italy (Abbott 1915: 375). The trend of caring for decommissioned soldiers continued even later, and by Caesar's time colonisation became a permanent process. Caesar, and later Octavian and the other triumvirs, established between forty and fifty Roman colonies outside of Italy (*ibid.* 378). As opposed to the older colonies, their establishment depended more on the arbitrary will of these military leaders than on decisions of the Senate (*ibid.* 380). Due to the political strategy of resolving potential social unrest by colonisation and its accelerated pace, it was quite easy to neglect certain urban planning rules, among others the rule dictating the mandatory construction of Capitolia in the Roman colonies.

## TEMPLES OF THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD IN CROATIA

Sometimes it has been assumed that Capitolia in the Roman colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast existed solely on the basis of colonial status. Thus, regardless of the degree of actual research, it is believed that temples dedicated to the Capitoline Triad existed in the Roman colonies in Pula (*Pola*), Poreč (*Parentium*), Zadar (*Iader*), Solin (*Salona*) and Vid, near Metković (*Narona*) (Suić 2003: 230). The existence of temples of the Capitoline Triad is also assumed in the Roman municipium in Nin (*Aenona*) and the Roman settlement in Vizače, near Pula (*Nesactium*) (*ibid.* 233).

The basic question posed in this paper is: did the Roman colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast truly have Capitolia in the original, authentic sense, and if so, were they there since establishment?

The colony of Roman citizens in Salona was probably established during Caesar's time (Wilkes 1969: 221; Suić 1991: 89). The establishment of the Roman colonies in Pula, Vid (near Metković) and Cavtat (*Epidaurum*) is dated to the same period (Mlakar 1978: 7–8; Wilkes 1969: 247, 252; Šašel Kos 2005: 335–336). The time of establishment of the colony in Zadar cannot be determined with greater certainty; this may have occurred during Caesar's time or during the Augustan era at the latest (Suić 1981: 152). Edmund Weigand (1924: 80) and John Joseph Wilkes (1969: 207) propose a date during Octavian's wars in Illyricum in 33 BC or not long afterward.

## HRAMOV I KAPITOLIJSKE TRIJADE U HRVATSKOJ

Ponekad se samo na temelju gradskoga statusa pretpostavlja da su postojali kapitoliji u rimskim kolonijama na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. Zbog toga se, bez obzira na stupanj istraženosti, drži da su hramovi posvećeni Kapitolijskoj trijadi postojali u rimskim kolonijama u Puli (*Pola*), Poreču (*Parentium*), Zadru (*Iader*), Solinu (*Salona*) i Vidu kod Metkovića (*Narona*) (Suić 2003: 230). Osim navedenim kolonijama pripisuju se i municipiju u Ninu (*Aenona*) i rimskom naselju u Vizačama kod Pule (*Nesactium*) (*ibid.* 233).

Osnovno je pitanje koje se postavlja u ovome radu jesu li rimske kolonije na istočnoj jadranskoj obali uistinu imale kapitolije u izvornome smislu te riječi i ako jesu, da li su oni ondje od njihova nastanka.

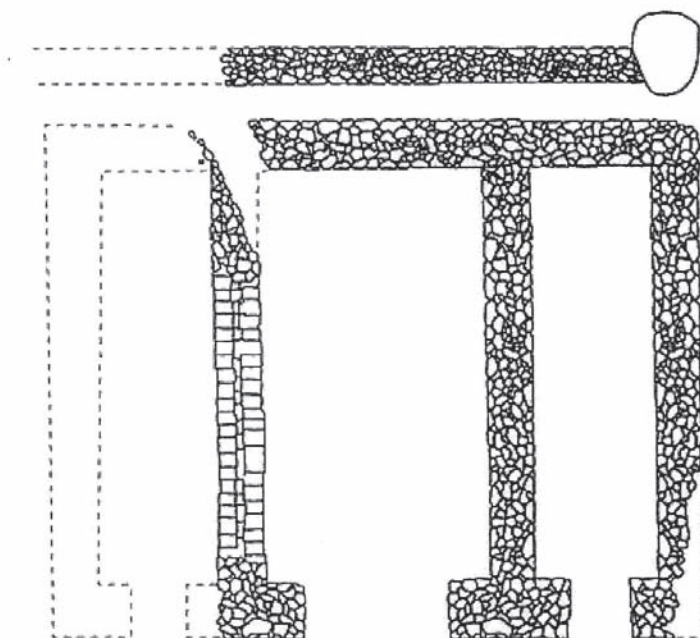
Kolonija rimskih građana u Saloni osnovana je najvjerojatnije u Cezarovo vrijeme (Wilkes 1969: 221; Suić 1991: 89). U isti se period datira i osnivanje rimskih kolonija u Puli, Vidu kod Metkovića i Cavtatu (*Epidaurum*) (Mlakar 1978: 7–8; Wilkes 1969: 247, 252; Šašel Kos 2005: 335–336). Ne može se s većom sigurnošću odrediti vrijeme osnivanja kolonije u Zadru; to se moglo dogoditi u Cezarovo ili najkasnije u Augustovo doba (Suić 1981: 152). Edmund Weigand (1924: 80) i John Joseph Wilkes (1969: 207) predlažu dataciju u vrijeme Oktavijanova ratovanja po Iliriku 33. g. pr. Kr. ili nedugo nakon toga.

Uvriježeno mišljenje da dodjela statusa kolonije podrazumijeva izgradnju hrama posvećenoga Kapitolijskoj trijadi implicira da su na istočnoj jadranskoj obali u predaugustovsko vrijeme postojala najmanje četiri ovakva hrama. Međutim analiza rimske arhitekture u zapadnim provincijama carstva pokazuje da se ona samo u iznimnim slučajevima može datirati prije Augustova doba (Ward-Perkins 1970: 18). Prije toga vremena ne može se datirati nijedan poznati kapitolij izvan Italije (Barton 1982: 266). U ostacima hrama u Italici u Španjolskoj, koji se datira u sredinu 2. st. pr. Kr, prepoznaju se određeni elementi kapitolija, ali čak i u toj provinciji uspostavljenoj još početkom 2. st. pr. Kr. nedostaju ključni elementi za pouzdano određivanje posvete hramova (sl. 3) (Mierse 1999: 7–8).

Čini se da su se Rimljani u najranijim kolonijama rimskih građana izvan Italije ‘za prvu ruku’ služili postojećom infrastrukturom te je

The accepted view that colonial status implies construction of a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad in turn implies that there were no less than four such temples in the pre-Augustan era. However, analysis of Roman architecture in the western provinces of the Empire has shown that they can be dated prior to the Augustan era only in exceptional cases (Ward-Perkins 1970: 18). No known Capitolia outside of Italy can be dated prior to this time (Barton 1982: 266). Certain elements of a Capitolia can be recognised in the remains of the temple in Italica, Spain, dated to the mid-second century BC, but even in this province—established at the beginning of the second century BC—the key elements to reliably determine the temple’s dedication are missing (Fig. 3) (Mierse 1999: 7–8).

It would appear that in the earliest colonies of Roman citizens outside of Italy, the Romans initially used existing infrastructure, possibly adapting it (Ward-Perkins 1970: 18). This probably happened in the Roman colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast, because all of them were established at the sites of already existing settlements (Wilkes 1969: 207). More than one generation separates the conquest of Britain from the time when local settlements in the south of this province began to transform into Roman settlements (Jones 1987: 49). In southern and northern Gallia, this interval sometimes lasted an



Slika 3. Italika: plan republikanskoga hrama (Mierse 1999: 4).

Figure 3. Italica: layout of the Republic temple (Mierse 1999: 4).



eventualno adaptirali (Ward-Perkins 1970: 18). To se vjerojatno dogodilo i u rimskim kolonijama na istočnoj jadranskoj obali jer su sve redom osnovane na mjestima gdje su već postojala naselja (Wilkes 1969: 207). Više od jedne generacije dijeli vrijeme osvajanja Britanije od vremena kada su se lokalna naselja na jugu te provincije počela preobražavati u rimska naselja (Jones 1987: 49). U južnoj i sjevernoj Galiji to je razdoblje ponekad trajalo čitavo stoljeće (Ward-Perkins 1970: 1–2). Sve do sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. jedino su miljokazi i centurijacija zemljišta oko kolonije u Narbonu svjedočili o rimskoj vlasti u Transalpinskoj Galiji, a sam je proces implementacije rimskoga urbanizma u ovoj provinciji bio dovršen tek krajem 1. st. (Woolf 1997: 345, 346).

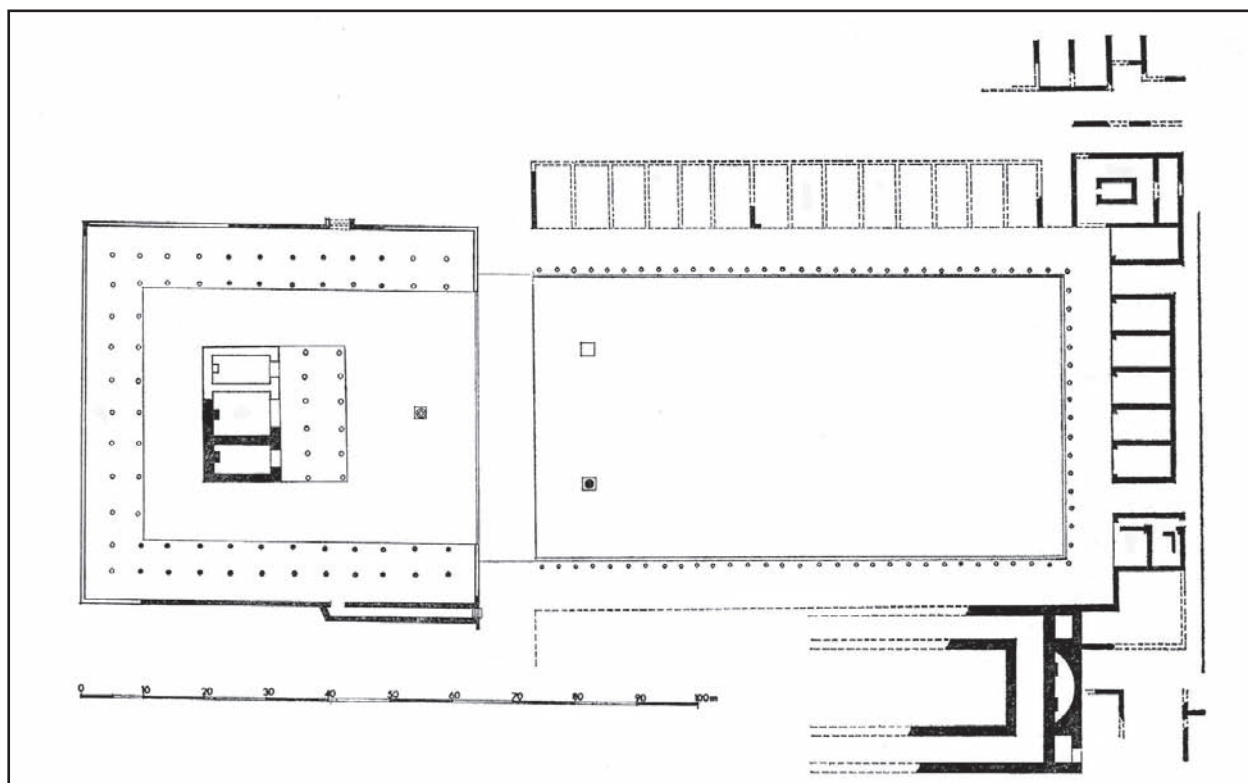
### ZADAR (*IADER*)

Od zadarskoga su hrama samo temelji sačuvani *in situ*, ali su poznati brojni arhitektonski ulomci koji mu pripadaju i koji omogućavaju njegovu idealnu rekonstrukciju (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 253). Riječ je o prostilnome hramu sa šest stupova u pročelju (*hexastylum*) podignutome na uzvišenome platou zapadno od gradskoga foruma (Suić 1981: 212; 2003: 231; Giunio 1997: 253). S jugozapadne, sjeverozapadne i sjeveroistočne strane hram je bio ograđen peribolom, trijemom s dvama nizovima

entire century (Ward-Perkins 1970: 1–2). Until the mid-first century BC, only the milestones and centuriation of land around the colonies in Narbonne testify to Roman authority in Transalpine Gaul, while the process of implementing Roman urban planning in this province was complete only at the end of the first century (Woolf 1997: 345, 346).

### ZADAR (*IADER*)

Only the foundations of the Zadar temple are preserved *in situ*, but numerous architectural fragments are known to have belonged to it which make possible its ideal reconstruction (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 253). This is a prostyle temple with six columns in the façade (*hexastylum*) raised on a plateau west of the city's forum (Suić 1981: 212; 2003: 231; Giunio 1997: 253). The temple was bounded by a peribolus on its south-west, north-west and north-eastern sides, and a portico with two rows of columns, while its façade on the south-eastern side was open to the city forum. One of the perpendicular city streets (*cardo*) passed between the temple and the square. The main city square, also enclosed in a portico, was located south-east of it (Giunio 1999: 56). There were tabernae all along its south-east and north-east sides, while the city basilica was located to its south-west (*ibid.*) (Fig. 4).

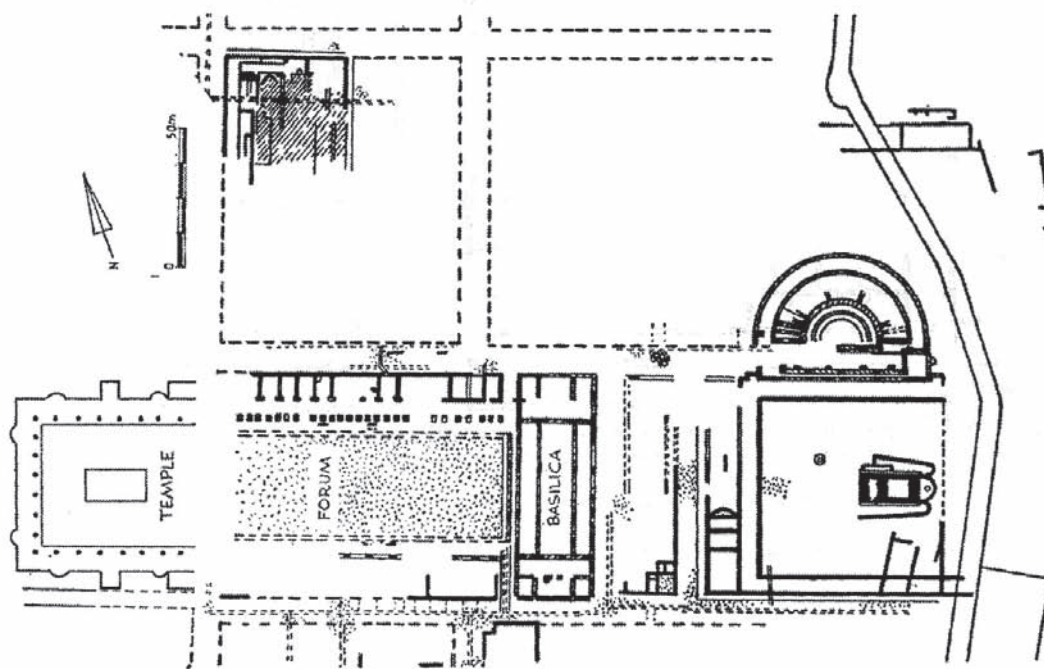


Slika 4. Zadar: hramski i forumski kompleks (Suić 1981).

Figure 4. Zadar: temple and forum complex (Suić 1981).

stupova, a pročeljem na jugoistočnoj strani bio je otvoren prema gradskome forumu. Između hrama i trga prolazila je jedna od poprečnih gradskih ulica (*cardo*). Jugoistočno od nje nalazio se glavni gradski trg koji je također bio zatvoren trijemom (Giunio 1999: 56). Uzduž njegove jugoistočne i sjeveroistočne strane nalazile su se taberne, dok se uz jugozapadnu stranu nalazila gradska bazilika (*ibid.*) (sl. 4). Jedinstvena cjelina forumskoga kompleksa i hrama oblikovana je u više građevinskih faza. Početak izgradnje zadarskoga foruma datira se u Augustovo doba te se drži da je konačan izgled dobio početkom 3. st. (Suić 1977: 46; 1981: 204; Giunio 1999: 55). Nalaz jednoga kruništa zdenca s natpisom datira najranije građevinske aktivnosti na forumu u treće desetljeće prije Krista (Fadić 1986: 427; 1999: 50). Međutim zasad nije moguće utvrditi razmjere tih aktivnosti. Pronađeni ostaci taberni na sjeveroistočnoj i jugoistočnoj strani foruma po stilu gradnje također pripadaju Augustovu vremenu (Giunio 1999: 58). Na osnovi stilske analize kapitela koji pripada hramu podizanje se hrama datira u rano augustovsko doba (Weigand 1924: 80). Tu dataciju hrama prihvatili su Suić (1981: 212; 2003: 232) i Giunio (1997: 255). Izgradnja trijema koji je flankirao trg datira se u drugu polovicu prvoga stoljeća, vjerojatno u doba Flavijevaca (Suić 1981: 208). Konačni izgled forum je dobio prigradnjom gradske

The unified whole of the forum complex and temple was formed in several construction phases. The commencement of construction of the Zadar forum dates to the Augustan era, and it is generally held that it acquired its final appearance at the beginning of the third century (Suić 1977: 46; 1981: 204; Giunio 1999: 55). The discovery of a crown for the well bearing an inscription made it possible to date the earliest construction activities in the forum to the third decade BC (Fadić 1986: 427; 1999: 50). Even so, it is currently impossible to ascertain the extent of these activities. Judging by their construction style, the taberna remains found on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides of the forum also belong to the Augustan era (Giunio 1999: 58). The raising of the temple has been dated to the early Augustan era based on a stylistic analysis of the capitals that belonged to the temple (Weigand 1924: 80). This dating of the temple was accepted by Suić (1981: 212; 2003: 232) and Giunio (1997: 255). Construction of the portico which flanked the square has been dated to the second half of the first century, probably during the Flavian era (Suić 1981: 208). The forum acquired its final appearance with the additional construction of the basilica along the south-western side of the forum at the end of the second or beginning of the third century (*ibid.* 214). Thereafter its appearance did not change significantly until it was demolished.



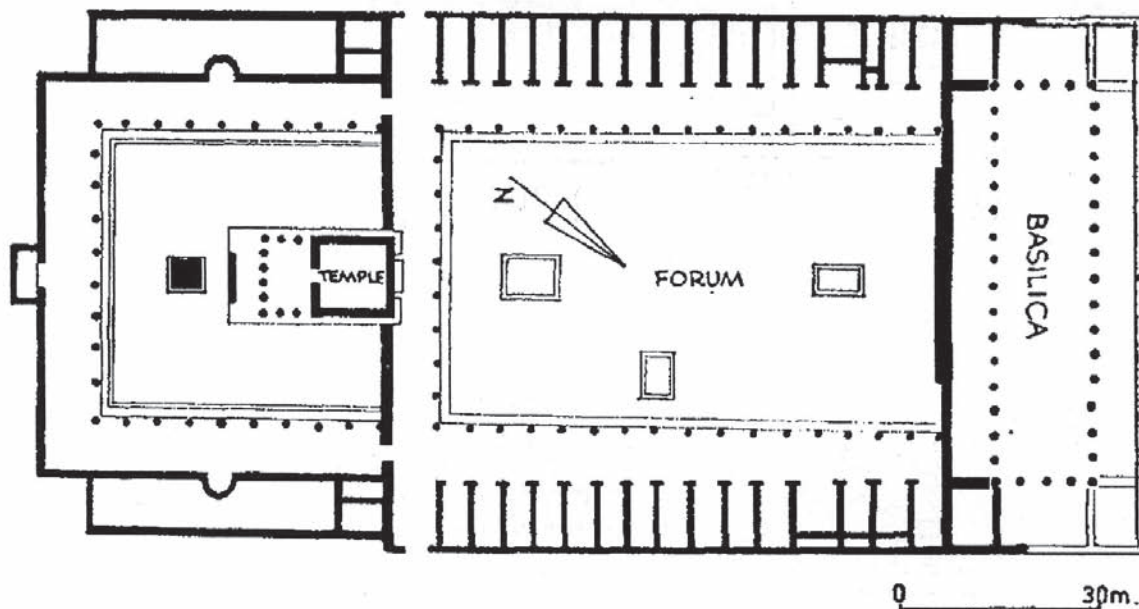
Slika 5. Benevagienna: hramski i forumski kompleks (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6).

Figure 5. Benevagienna: temple and forum complex (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6).



bazilike uz jugozapadnu stranu foruma krajem 2. st. ili početkom 3. st. (*ibid.* 214). Nakon toga njegov se izgled sve do rušenja nije bitno mijenjao.

The Zadar forum's type can be brought into connection with the types which appear in Northern Italy and the western provinces, primarily in Gaul

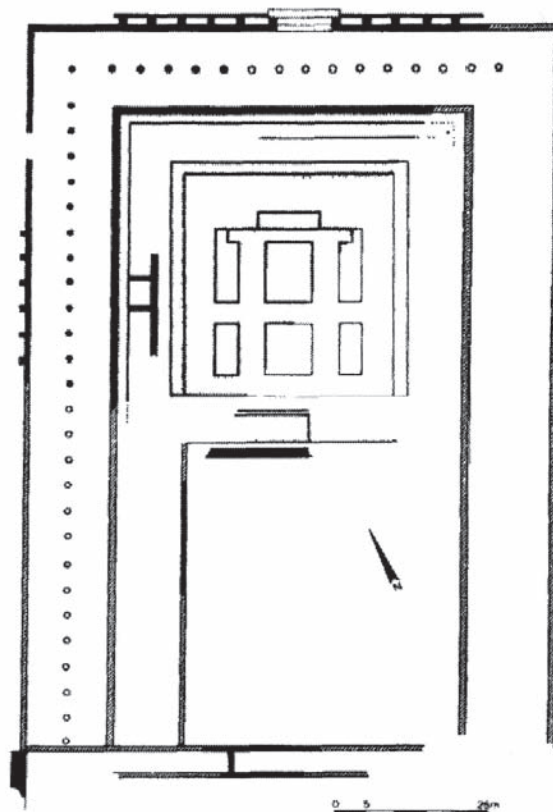


Slika 6. Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: hramski i forumski kompleks (Ward-Perkins 1970: 9).

Figure 6. Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: temple and forum complex (Ward-Perkins 1970: 9).

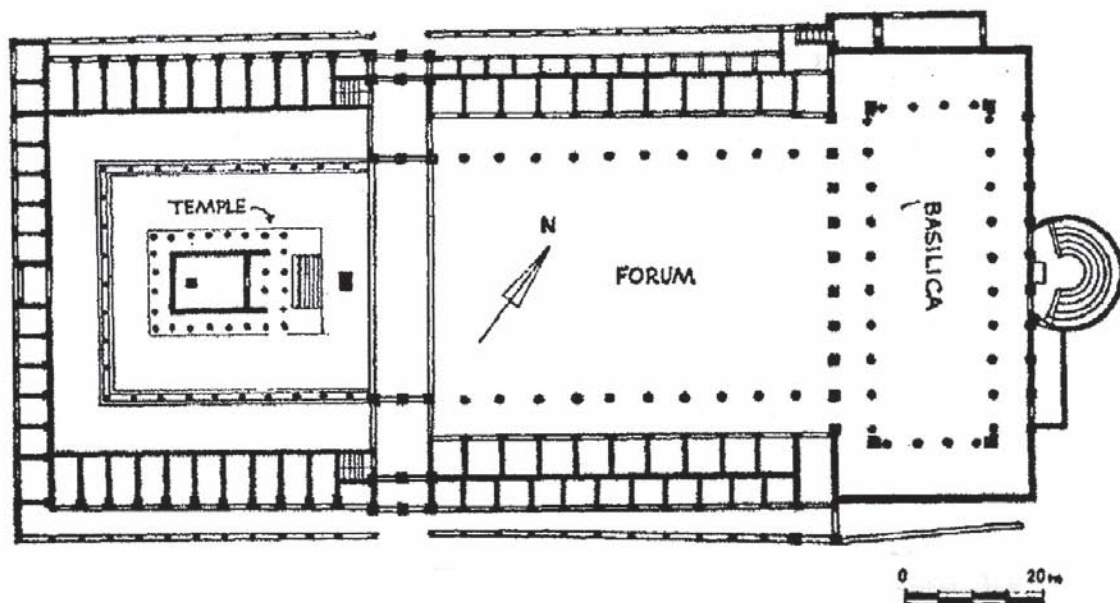
Tip zadarskoga foruma može se dovesti u vezu s tipovima koji se pojavljuju u sjevernoj Italiji i zapadnim provincijama, prvenstveno u Galiji (Ward-Perkins 1970: 10–11). Osnovno je obilježje tih foruma da imaju samostojeći hram ili više njih, najčešće okrenutih forumu s kojim čine jedinstvenu cjelinu ogradenu trijemom. Takvi tipovi poznati su u Aosti (*Augusta Praetoria*) i Benevagienni (*Augusta Bagienorum*) u Italiji (sl. 5), Saint-Bertrand-de-Commingesu (*Lugdunum Convenarum*) (sl. 6), Arlesu (*Arelate*), Narbonneu (*Narbo*) (sl. 7), Reimsu (*Durocortorum*) i Bavaui (*Bagacum*) u Francuskoj, Augstu u Švicarskoj (*Augusta Rauricorum*) (sl. 8), Zollfeldu (*Virunum*) u Austriji (sl. 9), Ampuriasu (*Emporiae*) u Španjolskoj (sl. 10) i Conimbrigi u Portugalu (sl. 11) (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6, 9, 11; Vettters 1977: 315; Todd 1985: 62, 64–65, sl. 47, 50–52; Rodà 1998: 118, sl. 1; Mierse 1999: 56, sl. 21, 215, sl. 62; Sablayrolles & Tassaux 1999: 133, sl. 2).

U Zadru se između forumskoga i hramskoga kompleksa prostire jedna od gradskih ulica. Takav plan grada u jednome razdoblju imaju i *Narbo*, *Virunum*, *Lugdunum*, *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *Augusta Bagienorum*, *Augusta Rauricorum* i *Emporiae* (Russell 1968: 335; Ward-Perkins 1970: 6, 9; Barton 1982:

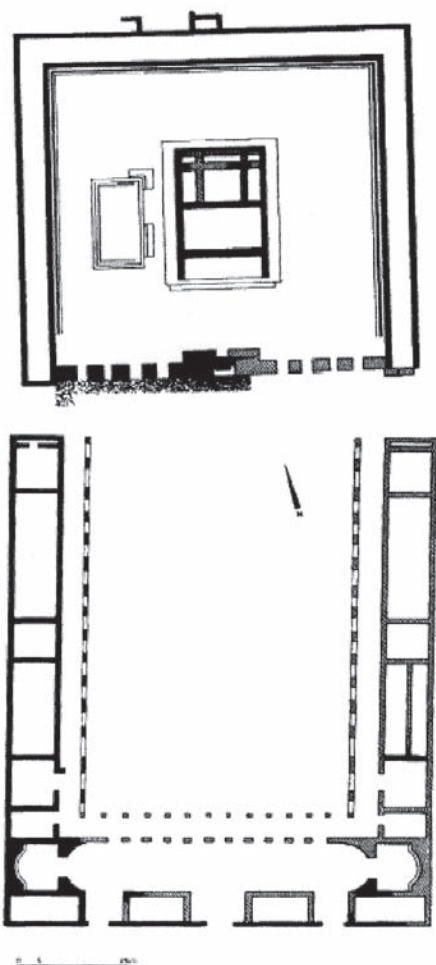


Slika 7. Narbonne: hramski i forumski kompleks (Todd 1985: 65).

Figure 7. Narbonne: temple and forum complex (Todd 1985: 65).



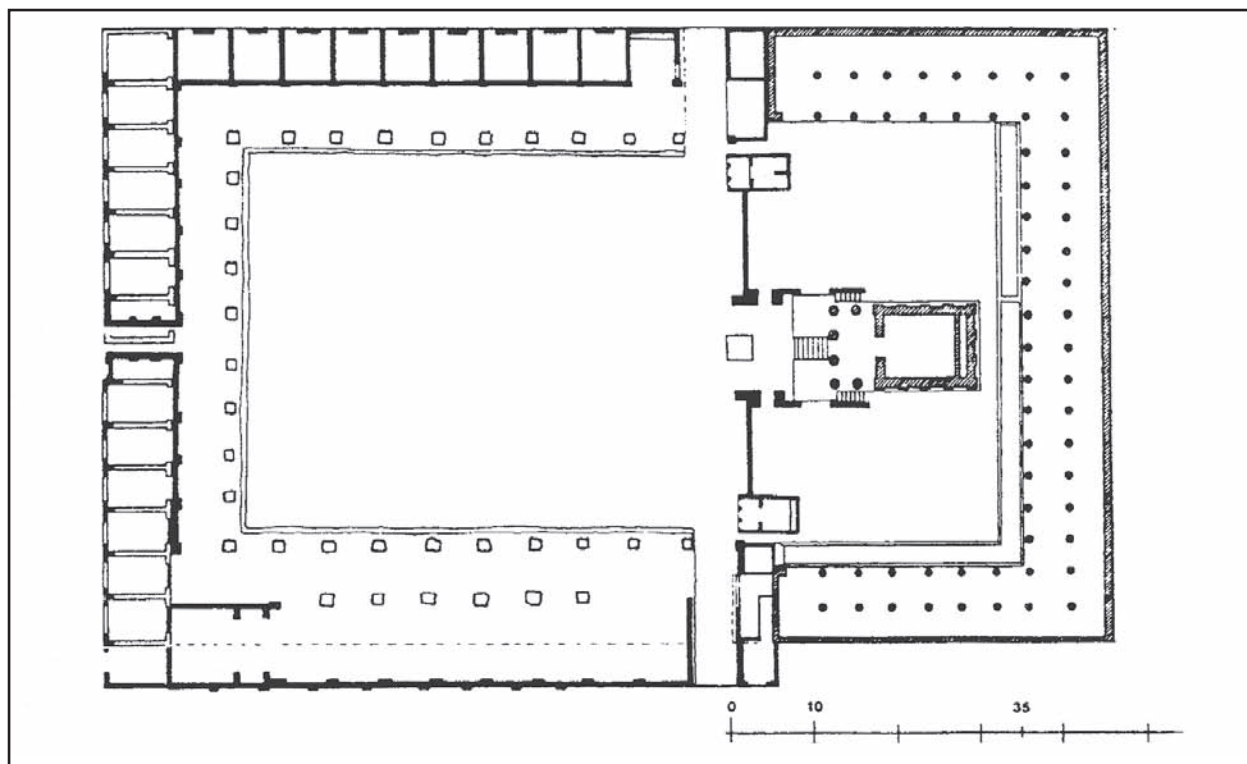
Slika 8. Augst: hramski i forumski kompleks (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6).  
Figure 8. Augst: temple and forum complex (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6).



(Ward-Perkins 1970: 10–11). The basic feature of these forums is that they have stand-alone temples, or several, most often facing the forum with which they form a unified complex bordered by a portico. These types of temples are known in Aosta (*Augusta Praetoria*) and Benevagienna (*Augusta Bagiennorum*) in Italy (Fig. 5), Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (*Lugdunum Convenarum*) (Fig. 6), Arles (*Arelate*), Narbonne (*Narbo*) (Fig. 7), Reims (*Durocortorum*) and Bavai (*Bagacum*) in France, Augst in Switzerland (*Augusta Rauricorum*) (Fig. 8), Zollfeld (*Virunum*) in Austria (Fig. 9), Ampurias (*Emporiae*) in Spain (Fig. 10) and Conimbriga in Portugal (Fig. 11) (Ward-Perkins 1970: 6, 9, 11; Vettters 1977: 315; Todd 1985: 62, 64–65, fig. 47, 50–52; Rodà 1998: 118, fig. 1; Mierse 1999: 56, fig. 21, 215, fig. 62; Sablayrolles & Tassaux 1999: 133, fig. 2).

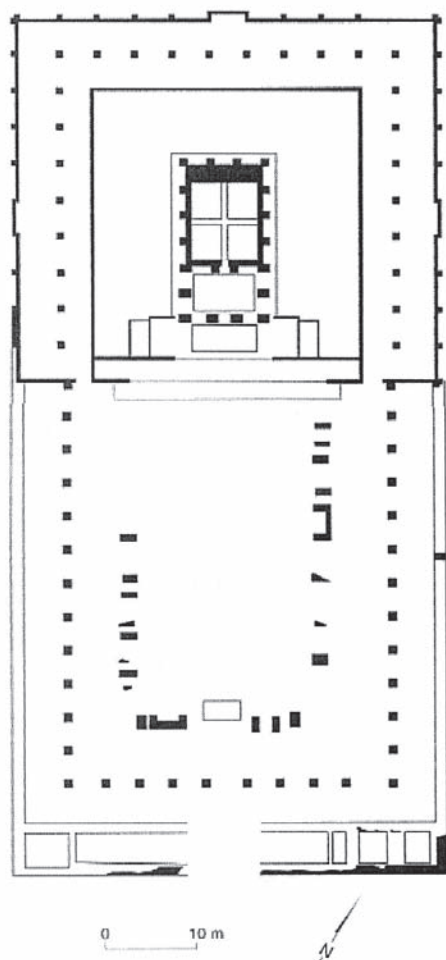
One of the city streets extends between the forum and temple complex in Zadar. This same type of city layout can in a certain period also be found in *Narbo*, *Virunum*, *Lugdunum*, *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *Augusta Bagiennorum*, *Augusta Rauricorum* and *Emporiae* (Russell 1968: 335; Ward-Perkins 1970: 6, 9; Barton 1982: 269). Besides a city *cardo* extending between the forum and temple in both Zadar and *Virunum*, the capital of the province of Noricum, the forum and temple complexes also belong to the original city layout and occupy two city *insulae* (Vettters 1977: 312, 314, fig. 2). Their important

Slika 9. Zollfeld: hramski i forumski kompleks (Todd 1985: 64).  
Figure 9. Zollfeld: temple and forum complex (Todd 1985: 64).



Slika 10. Ampurias: hramski i forumski kompleks (Rodà 1998: 118).

Figure 10. Ampurias: temple and forum complex (Rodà 1998: 118).



Slika 11. Conimbriga: hramski i forumski kompleks (Mierse 1999: 215).

Figure 11. Conimbriga: temple and forum complex (Mierse 1999: 215).

common elements are the portico around the forum and temple and the crypto-portico on the northern side of the temple complex (Alföldy 1974: 90, fig. 6; Vetter 1977: 314, fig. 3). On the other hand, the differences are less notable. The Virunum temple is located on a somewhat higher podium than its Zadar counterpart, and its basilica, as opposed to Zadar's, is situated along the forum opposite to the temple. Besides having a similar layout, the complexes are the same size and they were constructed at roughly the same time. Construction of Virunum, as an entirely new city, commenced during the Claudian era after the abandonment of Magdalensberg, the capital of the Noric kingdom. This moment was also the *terminus post quem* for the beginning of construction of the Virunum city forum and temple (Alföldy 1974: 89).

It would appear that the dating of the Zadar forum temple to the beginning of Augustus's rule requires revision. If the capital, which is the basis for dating the temple, truly belongs to the Augustan era, then the strict classicism attributed to it is not a trait of the beginning of the Augustus's rule but rather its end.<sup>1</sup> After several years of experimentation at the beginning of Augustus's rule, strict classicism be-

<sup>1</sup> This capital is usually dated to the Augustan era, but it has also, more rarely to be sure, been described as Early Christian stone sculpture and dated to the fourth, or third century at the earliest (Ceccheli 1932: 14).



269). Osim što se između foruma i hrama u Zadru i u Virunumu, glavnome gradu provincije Norik, prostire jedan gradski *cardo*, forumski i hramski kompleksi također pripadaju izvornomu gradskom planu i zapremaju prostor dviju gradskih inzulula (Vetters 1977: 312, 314, sl. 2). Značajniji zajednički elementi također su im trijem oko foruma i hrama te kriptoportik na sjevernoj strani hramskoga kompleksa (Alföldy 1974: 90, sl. 6; Vetters 1977: 314, sl. 3). S druge strane razlike su manje značajne. Virunumski hram smješten je na nešto višemu podiju od zadarskoga, a njegova je gradska bazilika, za razliku od zadarske, smještena uz forum nasuprot hramu. Osim što imaju sličan plan, kompleksi su i podjednake veličine i izgrađeni su u približno isto vrijeme. Virunum se kao posve nov grad počeo graditi u Klaudijevo vrijeme nakon napuštanja Magdalensberga, dotadašnjega noričkog središta. To vrijeme ujedno je *terminus post quem* početka izgradnje virunumskoga gradskog foruma i hrama (Alföldy 1974: 89).

Čini nam se da uobičajena datacija glavnoga zadarskog hrama u sam početak Augustova vladanja zahtijeva reviziju. Naime ako kapitel, na temelju je kojega hram datiran, uistinu pripada Augustovu vremenu, onda strogi klasicizam koji mu se pripisuje ne ukazuje na početak Augustova vladanja nego na njegov kraj.<sup>1</sup> Nakon više godina građevinskoga eksperimentiranja na početku Augustova vladanja ustalio se u arhitekturi strogi klasicizam i postao obilježje graditeljskoga programa kasnoga Augustova doba (Ward-Perkins 1967: 28). Moguće je i to da su radovi na izgradnji zadarskoga hrama potrajali nakon Augustove smrti, i to najkasnije do vladanja cara Klaudija (Mierse 1999: 121). Treba napomenuti da je u samome Rimu hram Marsa Osvetnika na Augustovu forumu, izvornome i središnjemu mjestu nove državne propagande, bio dovršen i posvećen tek 2. g. pr. Kr. (Simpson 1977: 91–94). Upravo je na Augustovu forumu stvoren nov dekorativni program koji je s ciljem promicanja carske ličnosti bio naknadno reproduciran diljem rimskoga carstva (Zanker 1990: 194–195; Stamper 2005: 132). Stoga smatramo da je zadarski hram mogao biti izgrađen najranije na prijelazu iz stare u novu kršćansku eru, pred kraj Augustova vladanja.

Nema ni konačnoga odgovora na pitanje komu je bio posvećen zadarski hram. Iako nema elemenata za sigurnu identifikaciju, u hrvatskoj se, ali i u inozemnoj, literaturi zadarski hram redovito naziva kapitolijem te se smatra da je bio posvećen vrhovnomu Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi (Ward-Perkins

came predominant in architecture and it became a characteristic of architectural practices in the late Augustan era (Ward-Perkins 1967: 28). It is possible that construction works on the Zadar temple continued after the death of Augustus, and lasted not later than the reign of Emperor Claudius (Mierse 1999: 121). It should be noted that in Rome itself, the temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan forum, the original and central place of the new state's propaganda, was completed and dedicated only in the year 2 BC (Simpson 1977: 91–94). It was precisely on the Augustan forum that a new decorative regime was created which, in the interest of promoting the imperial personality, was subsequently reproduced throughout the Roman Empire (Zanker 1990: 194–195; Stamper 2005: 132). Therefore, it is this author's opinion that the Zadar temple may have been constructed no earlier than the transition from BC to AD, just before the end of the reign of Augustus.

To whom the Zadar temple was dedicated is similarly a question with no definitive answer. Although there are no elements for certain identification, in the Croatian – and also in foreign – scholarly literature the Zadar temple is regularly referred to as a Capitulum and it is deemed to have been dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (Ward-Perkins 1970: 11, fig. 10; Suić 1977: 44–45; 1981: 214; 2003: 232; Barton 1982: 269–270; Giunio 1997: 249–256; 1999: 61; 2005: 167–168). Researchers were led to this conclusion by the dedicatory inscriptions *Iovi Augusto* (CIL III 2904) and *Iunonae Augustae* (CIL III 2905) found at the forum site (Hauser 1884: 7; Suić 1981: 182; Giunio 1997: 257, pl. 121, fig. 1; 1999: 61). It is assumed that a stone block built into the foundations of the pilasters of the Church of St. Donatus, which faces the inside toward the wall, contains the third dedicatory inscription in this group, *Minervae Augustae* (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 257; 2005: 168). These stone blocks were interpreted as pedestals for statues (*simulacra*) of the deities of the Capitoline Triad that were in the temple's cella (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 257; 2005: 168).

Can the dedicatory inscriptions *Iovi Augusto*, *Iunonae Augustae* and, possibly, *Minervae Augustae* be interpreted as dedications to the Capitoline Triad? The names Jupiter and Juno were not written in the Capitoline formula, so they can also be attributed to the imperial cult and pertain to Augustus and Livia or perhaps some later ruling spouses from the Julio-Claudian dynasty. During research into the temple's cella, a marble fragment of a hand was found, but this is not sufficient to identify the statue installed in the temple. The only thing known for certain is that the sculpture was twice the size of an average man (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1999: 61).

<sup>1</sup> Ovaj se kapitel obično datira u Augustovo vrijeme, ali se, doduše rjeđe, pripisivao i ranokršćanskoj kamenoj plastici i datirao u 4. najranije u 3. st. (Ceccheli 1932: 14).

1970: 11, sl. 10; Suić 1977: 44–45; 1981: 214; 2003: 232; Barton 1982: 269–270; Giunio 1997: 249–256; 1999: 61; 2005: 167–168). Istraživače/istraživačice na taj su zaključak naveli posvetni natpisi *Iovi Augusto* (CIL III 2904) i *Iunonae Augustae* (CIL III 2905) pronađeni na mjestu foruma (Hauser 1884: 7; Suić 1981: 182; Giunio 1997: 257, T. 121, sl. 1; 1999: 61). Pretpostavlja se da jedan kameni blok uzidan u temelje pilastra crkve Sv. Donata, koji je licem okrenut prema nutrini zida, sadrži treći, posvetni natpis ove skupine, *Minervae Augustae* (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 257; 2005: 168). Ti su kameni blokovi interpretirani kao postolja za kipove (*simulacra*) božanstava Kapitolijske trijade koji su se nalazili u celi hrama (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1997: 257; 2005: 168).

Mogu li se posvetni natpisi *Iovi Augusto*, *Iunonae Augustae* i eventualno *Minervae Augustae* tumačiti kao posvete božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade? Imena Jupitera i Junone nisu ispisana kapitolijskom formulom, pa se mogu također pripisati carskomu kultu i odnositi se na Augusta i Liviju ili možda na neki kasniji vladarski bračni par iz dinastije Julijeva-Klaudijeva. Pri istraživanju cele hrama pronađen je jedan mramorni ulomak ruke, međutim on nije dovoljan za identifikaciju kipa koji je bio postavljen u hramu. Jasno je tek da je riječ o skulpturi dvostruko većoj od čovjeka (Suić 1981: 214; Giunio 1999: 61).

Sasvim je sigurno da se epitet *Augustus* odnosi izravno na vladara ili ga dovodi u vezu s božanstvom koje nosi epitet (Green 1927: 92). Zadarski su natpisi protumačeni u kontekstu identifikacije Augusta i Livije s Jupiterom i Junonom (Ward 1933: 220–221). Više je primjera iz umjetnosti službenoga Rima gdje su August i Livija predstavljeni kao Jupiter i Junona (*ibid.* 221–223). Na posvete *Iovi Augusto* nailazi se i u ostalim dijelovima rimskoga carstva: u Italiji, Africi, Galiji i Britaniji (Bartoccini 1941: 242; Fishwick 1961: 220). Ideja o Augustu kao ovozemaljskome Jupiteru i namjesniku božanskoga Jupitera prisutna je i u rimskoj poeziji. Susrećemo je kod Vergilija (*Aen.*, I, 279, 283, 286–288), Manilija (I, 9, 916), Ovidija (*Tr.*, V, 2, 47–48; *Met.*, XV, 858–870) i Horacija (*Od.*, I, 12, 49–52; III, 5, 4–8).

Poistovjećivanje vrhovnoga boga s vladarom u rimski je svijet došlo s Istoka, iz helenističkoga kulturnog kruga gdje je taj običaj bio široko rasprostranjen (Fears 1981: 68; Santosuosso 2004: 83). Zeus je imao istaknutu ulogu u kraljevskim ideologijama svih helenističkih monarhija, a izjednačavanje vladara s njim bila je omiljena tema helenističkih kraljevskih panegirika (Ross Taylor 1975: 30). Zbog toga su se pojedini rimski imperatori na istoku carstva u kultu izravno poistovjećivali sa Zeusom (Fears 1981: 97). Određene smjernice za identifikaciju titulara zadar-

It is entirely certain that the epithet *Augustus* pertains directly to the ruler or brings him into connection with the deity who bears this epithet (Green 1927: 92). The Zadar inscriptions were interpreted in the context of identification of Augustus and Livia with Jupiter and Juno (Ward 1933: 220–221). There are several examples in Roman official art in which Augustus and Livia are depicted as Jupiter and Juno (*ibid.* 221–223). Dedications to *Iovi Augusto* can also be found in other parts of the Roman Empire: in Italy, Africa, Gaul and Britain (Bartoccini 1941: 242; Fishwick 1961: 220). The idea of Augustus as the earthly Jupiter and the regent of the divine Jupiter is also present in Roman poetry. It can be found in the work of Vergil (*Aen.*, I, 279, 283, 286–288), Manilius (I, 9, 916), Ovid (*Tr.*, V, 2, 47–48; *Met.*, XV, 858–870) and Horace (*Od.*, I, 12, 49–52; III, 5, 4–8).

Identification of the supreme deity with the ruler came to the Roman world from the East, from the Hellenistic cultural sphere, where this custom was quite widespread (Fears 1981: 68; Santosuosso 2004: 83). Zeus played a distinguished role in the royal ideologies of all Hellenistic monarchies, and identification of the ruler with him was a favourite theme of Hellenistic royal panegyrics (Ross Taylor 1975: 30). This is why individual Roman emperors were directly identified with Zeus in cults in the Empire's eastern portions (Fears 1981: 97).

Some guidelines for the identification of the titular of the Zadar temple are also provided by the decoration of the forum complex. The pilasters of the upper gallery of the city basilica, probably built into the forum during the time of the Severan dynasty, were decorated with protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa, between which there is a pluteus with oak-leaf encarpuses (Suić 1977: 43, 45, fig. 82, 83; Giunio 1997: pl. 121; 1999: 60; Cambi 2005: 28–29, fig. 25–27). The upper floor of the forum portico was equipped with similar plutei. They were decorated with winged cherubs holding between them a laurel leaf encarpus, while the pilasters between them had protomes of satyrs and Bacchants (Suić 1977: 41–42, fig. 76; Giunio 1999: 58).

The meagre selection of motifs used in Zadar corresponds to the decorative regimes of Roman forums in other parts of the Empire. Even in the case of the Augustan forum in Rome, which was richly decorated, the selection was limited to only a few scenes (Zanker 1990: 113). The new visual appearance, inaugurated in architecture with the Augustan forum, multiplied in provincial architecture throughout the Empire. It was a reflection of Augustus's personal ideas, although the selected motifs do not demonstrate this directly (*ibid.* 195).

The motif of the Jupiter Ammon protome, which first appeared on the attic clypei of the Augustan

skoga hrama daje i dekorativni program forumskoga kompleksa. Pilastr i gornje galerije gradske bazilike, prigradene forumu vjerojatno u vrijeme dinastije Severa, bili su ukrašeni protomama Jupitera Amona i Meduze između kojih su se nalazili pluteji s enkarpi od hrastova lišća (Suić 1977: 43, 45, sl. 82, 83; Giunio 1997: T 121; 1999: 60; Cambi 2005: 28–29, sl. 25–27). Sličnim plutejima bio je opremljen i gornji kat forumskoga trijema. Oni su bili ukrašeni krlatim Amorima koji između sebe drže enkarpi od lovorova lišća, a na pilastrima između njih nalazile su se protome satira i bakhanta (Suić 1977: 41–42, sl. 76; Giunio 1999: 58).

Skroman izbor uporabljenih motiva u Zadru odgovara dekorativnim programima rimskih foruma i u drugim dijelovima carstva. Čak je i u Augustovu forumu u Rimu, koji je imao bogat dekorativni program, izbor sveden na samo nekoliko scena (Zanker 1990: 113). Nov vizualni program, inauguriran u arhitekturu s Augustovim forumom, multipliciran je u provincijalnoj arhitekturi diljem carstva. Odras je osobnih Augustovih ideja iako izabrani motivi to ne pokazuju izravno (*ibid.* 195).

Motiv protome Jupitera Amona, koji se prvi put pojavio na klipejima atika Augustova foruma u Rimu, ponovljen je u dekorativnim programima brojnih foruma u Italiji i provincijama (Ward-Perkins 1981: 32, sl. 9; Stamper 2005: 138, sl. 101). Smjenjivanje motiva Jupitera Amona i Meduze, kakvo se pojavljuje u dekorativnome programu forumskoga kompleksa u Zadru, susreće se i na trijemovima foruma u Puli, Trstu i Akvileji (Budischovsky 1973: 201; Bertacchi 1989: 59–70). Arhitektonski ulomci ukrašeni tim motivima postoje i u drugim provincijama carstva. Na prostoru foruma u Celju (*Celeia*) pronađen je reljef s prikazom Meduze koji je bio dio forumskoga dekorativnog programa (Lazar 2002: 87, sl. 23). Klipeji s protomama Jupitera Amona i Meduze pronađeni su u jednome od dvaju gradskih foruma u Meridi (*Augusta Emerita*) (Mierse 1999: 69, pl. 10–11; Rodà 1999: 122, sl. 1). Hram u Tarragoni (*Tarraco*) također je bio ukrašen klipejima identičnih motiva (Mierse 1999: 148; Rodà 1999: 123, sl. 2, 3). Protome Jupitera Amona pojavljuju se i u dekorativnome programu sljedećih antičkih gradova: *Clunia* (Peñalba de Castro), *Arelate* (Arles), *Aventicum* (Avenches), *Vindobona* (Vienne) i *Genava* (Ženeva) (Fishwick 1997: 45).

Motiv Jupitera Amona u rimskoj umjetnosti dovodi se u vezu s carskim likom i stvaranjem imperijalnoga kulta u Augustovo vrijeme (Bugarski-Mesdjian 1999: 70; Giunio 1999: 61). Sinkretizam božanstava sastavni je dio procesa heleniziranja rimskoga društva i implementiranja ideje diviniziranoga vladara na Zapadu. Dekoracije s protomama Jupitera

forum in Rome, is repeated in the decorations of numerous forums in Italy and the provinces (Ward-Perkins 1981: 32, fig. 9; Stamper 2005: 138, fig. 101). Alternation of the Jupiter Ammon and Medusa motifs, which appears in the decorations of the forum complex in Zadar, is also encountered in the forum porticos in Pula, Trieste and Aquileia (Budischovsky 1973: 201; Bertacchi 1989: 59–70). Architectural fragments decorated with these motifs also exist on other provinces of the Empire. At the Celje (*Celeia*) forum, a relief was found with a depiction of Medusa which was part of the forum's decorations (Lazar 2002: 87, fig. 23). Clypei with protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa were found in one of the two city forums in Mérida (*Augusta Emerita*) (Mierse 1999: 69, pl. 10–11; Rodà 1999: 122, fig. 1). The temple in Tarragona (*Tarraco*) was also decorated with clypei bearing identical motifs (Mierse 1999: 148; Rodà 1999: 123, fig. 2, 3). Protomes of Jupiter Ammon also appear in the decorations of the following Roman-era cities: *Clunia* (Peñalba de Castro), *Arelate* (Arles), *Aventicum* (Avenches), *Vindobona* (Vienne) and *Genava* (Ženeva) (Fishwick 1997: 45).

The Jupiter Ammon motif in Roman art is associated with the imperial image and the creation of the imperial cult during the Augustan era (Bugarski-Mesdjian 1999: 70; Giunio 1999: 61). The syncretism of deities is a component of the Hellenisation of Roman society and implementation of the idea of a divinised ruler in the West. Decorations with protomes of Jupiter Ammon were a part of imperial propaganda and they symbolised the might of the Roman ruler and the Empire he administered (Bugarski-Mesdjian 1999: 70). In the Augustan forum in Rome, these decorations were inspired by Alexander's laying of shields along the Parthenon after the victory at Granicus, while elsewhere in the West it is a reflection of loyalty to and sympathy for the Roman ruler (Fishwick 1997: 46). Augustus's imperialism was reignited by the civil wars which rocked the Classical world toward the end of the Roman Republic, and the supremacy of a single man was enthroned, justified to the masses for the sake of establishing 'world peace' (Gabba 1982: 56). The imperial cult in the west was the principal driver of Romanisation in the Roman provinces (Rives 2001: 427).

The motif of Jupiter Ammon decorated the pterygia on the armour thoraces of Roman imperial statues, the phalerae of military medals and cavalry gear used by high officials of the Roman army (Riccioni 1975: 506). It was particularly favoured in Roman art during the first and second centuries (*ibid.* 510). One such phalera was found in Salona (Cambi 1980:



Amona dio su imperijalne političke propagande i simboliziraju moć rimskoga vladara i carstva kojim upravlja (Bugarski-Mesdžian 1999: 70). Na Augustovu forumu u Rimu te su dekoracije bile inspirirane Aleksandrovim polaganjem štitova uz Partenon nakon pobjede na Graniku, dok su drugdje na Zapadu odraz lojalnosti i simpatije prema rimskome vladaru (Fishwick 1997: 46). Augustovim su imperijalizmom obuzdani građanski ratovi koji su potresali antički svijet pred kraj rimske republike i ustoličena je supremacija jednoga čovjeka koja se pred masama opravdavala uspostavljanjem 'svjetskoga mira' (Gabba 1982: 56). Imperijalni kult na zapadu bio je glavni medij procesa romaniziranja rimskih provincija (Rives 2001: 427).

Motivom Jupitera Amona ukrašavale su se pterige toraksa oklopa rimskih carskih statua, falere vojničkih odlikovanja i konjska oprema kojom su se služili viši dužnosnici rimske vojske (Riccioni 1975: 506). U rimskoj umjetnosti bio je posebno omiljen tijekom 1. i 2. st. (*ibid.* 510). Jedna takva falera pronađena je u Saloni (Cambi 1980: 46, sl. 3). Falera istoga tipa prepoznaje se i među falerima koje su prikazane na jednome vojničkom nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Burnuma. Na istome se nadgrobnom spomeniku iznad te falere nalazi falera s prikazom Meduze (Abramić 1924: 226, sl. 4; Cambi 1980: 48, sl. 5, 6). Jupiter Amon i Meduza nalaze se na pterigama toraksa oklopa Hadrijanovih statua pronađenih u Hierapytni na Kreti i na Tasu (Budischovsky 1973: 214, sl. 11). U Britanskome muzeju čuva se torzo jedne Hadrijanove ili Augustove statue iz Kirene koja je veoma slična onoj iz Hierapytne (Wroth 1885: 200; Newton 1885: 379). Jupiter Amon pojavljuje se i na pterigama toraksa oklopa jedne carske kultne statue pronađene na pulskome forumu i Augustove kultne statue iz novootkrivenoga augusteja u Naroni (Giunio 1997: 192, T. 95, sl. 2; Starac 1999: 16, sl. 9; Marin & Vickers 2004: 156, sl. 1).

Bez obzira na sve iznesene podatke nedostaju pozdani pokazatelji titulara zadarskoga hrama, a više elemenata opravdava pretpostavku da je zadarski hram mogao biti u funkciji kulta carske ličnosti. Protome Jupitera Amona i Meduze na nalazištima Peñalba de Castro, Arles, Avenches, Vienne, Ženeva, Caderousse i Versoix bile su dio dekorativnoga programa prostora koji je bio u funkciji imperijalnog kulta (Fishwick 1997: 45). Carskomu je kultu vjerojatno služio i hram u Meridi gdje su također pronađeni ulomci klipje s protomama Jupitera Amona i Meduze (Mierse 1999: 71). Religijska svetkovanja postala su od Augustova vremena sastavni dio carske propagande, a imperijalni kult je tijekom 1. st. dominirao javnim religioznim životom (*ibid.* 128). Novoizgrađeni su se hramovi posvećivali uglavnom

46, fig. 3). The same type of phalera was recognised among the phalerae displayed on a Roman military grave monument from Burnum. Above this phalera, on the same grave monument there is another bearing a depiction of Medusa (Abramić 1924: 226, fig. 4; Cambi 1980: 48, fig. 5, 6). Jupiter Ammon and Medusa are found on the pterygia of armour thoraces on Hadrian's statues found in Hierapythna on Crete and on Thassos (Budischovsky 1973: 214, fig. 11). The torso of a statue of Hadrian or Augustus from Cyrene, held in the British Museum, is very similar to the one from Hierapythna (Wroth 1885: 200; Newton 1885: 379). Jupiter Ammon also appears on the pterygia of the armour thorax of an imperial cult statue found in the Pula forum and on Augustus's cult statue from the newly discovered Augusteum in Naronia (Giunio 1997: 192, pl. 95, l. 2; Starac 1999: 16, fig. 9; Marin & Vickers 2004: 156, fig. 1).

Regardless of all these data, reliable indicators of the titular of the Zadar temple are lacking, and several elements justify the assumption that the Zadar temple may have served for the ruler cult. The protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa at sites in Peñalba de Castro, Arles, Avenches, Vienna, Geneva, Caderousse and Versoix were a part of the decorations of these spaces which functioned as premises of the imperial cult (Fishwick 1997: 45). The temple in Mérida, where fragments of a clypeus with protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa were also found, was probably also dedicated to the imperial cult (Mierse 1999: 71). Religious ceremonies became integral to the imperial propaganda during the Augustan era, and the imperial cult dominated public religious life during the first century (*ibid.* 128). The newly-constructed temples were dedicated on feast days tied to the imperial family, something that also began to be practiced in republican temples (Zanker 1990: 114).

## PULA (POLA)

There are even less elements in Pula that could be used as the basis to attribute the known temples to the Capitoline Triad. The Pula forum complex in the periods following Antiquity was so significantly restructured that its content is still open to question. The forum was located along the seashore at the foot of a hill where two major city streets intersected. Roman urban planning as it existed in Zadar could not be implemented in Pula due to the configuration of the terrain. The layout of Roman-era Pula was dictated by the small hill around which the city grew. A part of urban communication was laid out

na dane svetkovina vezanih uz vladarsku obitelj, što se postupno počelo prakticirati i u starijim hramovima (Zanker 1990: 114).

## PULA (POLA)

U Puli je još manje elemenata na temelju kojih bi se poznati hramovi mogli pripisati božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade. Pulski forumski kompleks u postantičkim je razdobljima bio toliko preoblikovan da su brojna pitanja u vezi s njegovim sadržajem još uvijek otvorena. Forum je bio smješten uz obalu u podnožju brežuljka gdje su se sjekle dvije važnije gradske ulice. Rimsko urbanističko planiranje kakvo postoji u Zadru zbog konfiguracije terena nije se moglo realizirati u Puli. Plan antičke Pule diktirao je brežuljak oko kojega se razvio grad. Dio gradskih komunikacija postavljen je radialno oko brežuljka, a druge se uzdižu od podnožja prema vrhu dajući gradskom planu izgled paukove mreže (Obad-Vučina 1999: 34, sl. 1).

Istraživanja na mjestu gradskoga foruma ukazuju na to da je prostor imao istu ili sličnu svrhu i u predrimsko doba (Girardi Jurkić 1999: 13). Međutim zasad nije moguće opisati karakter predaugustovske faze gradskoga foruma. Čini se da kamena gradnja većih razmjera nije na mjestu foruma započeta prije Augustova vremena. Pretpostavlja se da je i u antičkoj Puli, kao i u Zadru, postojao hram posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi, a pretpostavka se temelji na stavu da su gradovi sa statusom kolonije obavezno imali ovakve hramove. No kako postoje osnovani razlozi za sumnju u tu tvrdnju, u pitanje se može dovesti i pulski slučaj.

S hramom Kapitolijske trijade obično se identificira središnji hram na sjeverozapadnoj strani foruma (Matijašić 1999: 23). Svojevremeno se ubicirao i na vrh pulskoga brežuljka gdje je u 17. st., za mletačke uprave, bio podignut Kaštel. Postoji još jedno mišljenje prema kojemu središnji hram na sjevernoj strani foruma nikad nije bio dovršen i posvećen, a hram s tom funkcijom bio je naknadno izgrađen na mjestu gdje se danas nalazi gradska katedrala (Obad-Vučina 1999: 38).

Polazeći od standardiziranih kriterija identifikacije, u Puli nedostaju osnovni elementi na temelju kojih bi se jedan od gradskih hramova mogao pouzdano identificirati s hramom Kapitolijske trijade. Na sjeverozapadnoj strani pulskoga foruma pretpostavljene su tri hramske građevine (sl. 12) (Krizmanić 1988: 112; Girardi Jurkić 1998: 33). Do danas se očuvao samo južni hram koji je bio posvećen Romi i Augustu. Riječ je o tetrastilnome hramu podignutome između 2. g. pr. Kr. i 14. g. po. Kr. (Ross Taylor

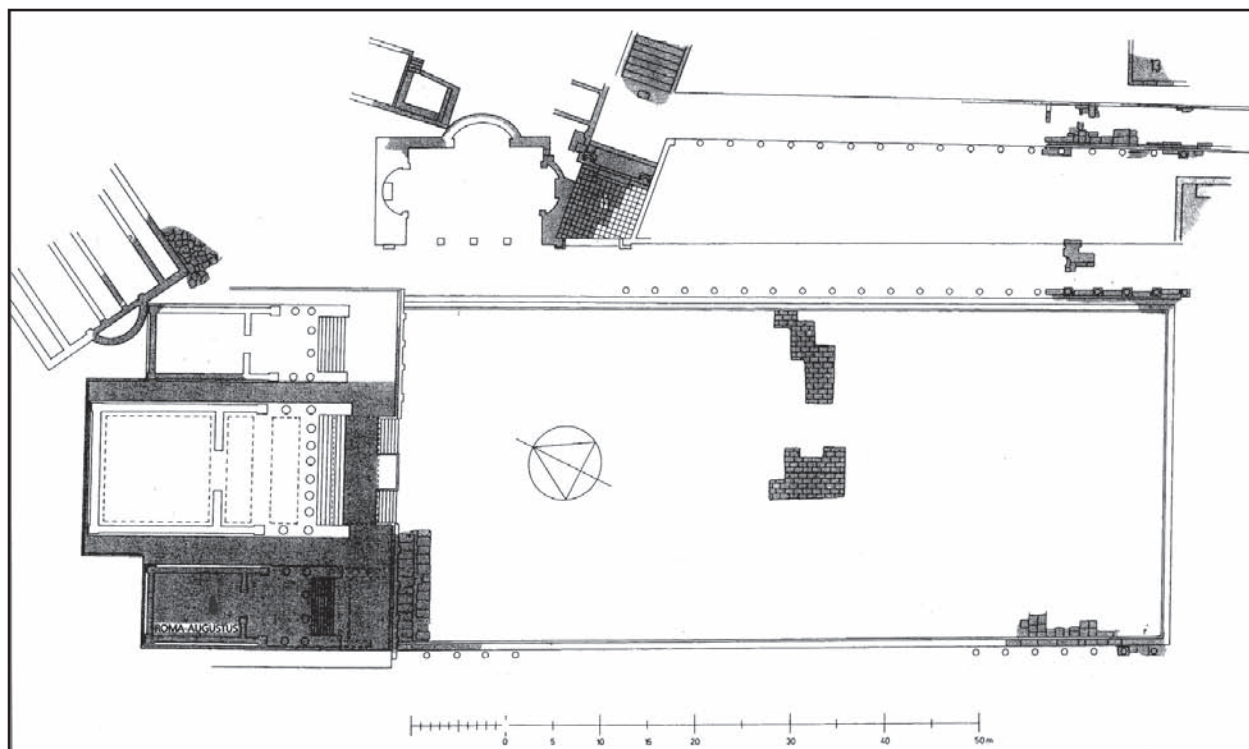
radially around the hill, while another part ascended from the foot to the hilltop, giving the street layout the appearance of a spider's web (Obad-Vučina 1999: 34, fig. 1).

Research at the site of the city forum indicates that this area had the same or similar purpose in pre-Roman times (Girardi Jurkić 1999: 13). However, so far it is impossible to describe the character of the pre-Augustan phase of the city forum. It would appear that larger scale construction using stones at the forum's site did not commence prior to the Augustan era. It is assumed that in Roman-era Pula, as in Zadar, there was a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, but this assumption is based on the standpoint that cities with colonial statues had to have such temples. But since there are sound reasons to doubt this assertion, the Pula case can also be questioned.

The central temple on the north-western side of the forum is usually identified as the temple of the Capitoline Triad (Matijašić 1999: 23). At one time it was even speculated that the location was atop Pula's small hill, where the city's Castle was built in the seventeenth century during Venetian rule.

There is yet another view according to which the central temple on the northern side of the forum was never completed and dedicated, and a temple with this function was subsequently constructed at the current site of the city's cathedral (Obad-Vučina 1999: 38).

Based on the standardised identification criteria, Pula is lacking the basic elements whereby any of the city's temples could be readily identified as a temple of the Capitoline Triad. Three temple buildings are posited to have existed on the north-western side of Pula's forum (Fig. 12) (Krizmanić 1988: 112; Girardi Jurkić 1998: 33). Only the southern temple, dedicated to Roma and Augustus, has been preserved to the present day. This is a tetrastyle temple erected between 2 BC and 14 AD (Ross Taylor 1920: 118–119; Krizmanić 1988: 107; Girardi Jurkić 1998: 32). Only foundations, thought to be the temple's podium, remain at the site of the assumed central temple on the forum, which is the most often assumed location of the temple of the Capitoline Triad (Starac 1996: 75). A portion of a fluted column and a base assumed to have been found *in situ* during research into the communal palace built there, are believed to belong to this temple (Krizmanić 1988: 100, 104). It is believed to have had eight columns on its façade (*octastylus*) (*ibid.* 106). Due to construction of the Venetian Castle atop Pula's hill – the other assumed site of the Capitoline Triad's temple, no specific



Slika 12. Pula: forumski kompleks s hramovima (Matijašić 1999: 25).

Figure 12. Pula: forum complex with temples (Matijašić 1999: 25).

1920: 118–119; Krizmanić 1988: 107; Girardi Jurkić 1998: 32). Na mjestu pretpostavljenoga središnjeg hrama na forumu, kamo se najčešće ubicira hram Kapitolijske trijade, sačuvani su samo temelji za koje se misli da su bili podij hrama (Starac 1996: 75). Smatra se da ovomu hramu pripadaju i dio kaneliranoga stupa i jedna baza za koje se pretpostavlja da su pronađeni *in situ* prigodom istraživanja ondje podignute komunalne palače (Krizmanić 1988: 100, 104). Pretpostavlja se da je imao osam stupova na pročelju (*octastylus*) (*ibid.* 106). Zbog izgradnje mletačkoga Kaštela na vrhu pulskoga brežuljka, drugoga pretpostavljenog mjesta za hram Kapitolijske trijade, ne može se zaključiti ništa konkretno o načinu antičke gradnje na tome položaju, nego se samo mogu iznijeti opće pretpostavke.

Osim što nema arhitekture, nedostaju i ostali ključni elementi potrebni za potvrdu postojanja takva hrama. Dosad u Puli nisu potvrđeni ostaci kulturnih statua božanstava Kapitolijske trijade niti postoje epigrafska svjedočanstva koja bi išla u prilog postojanju kapitolija.

Valja se, kao i pri opisu zadarskoga foruma, osvrnuti na dekorativni program gradskoga foruma u Puli. Brojni su elementi pulskoga forumskog kompleksa nepoznati tako da ga se ne može rekonstruirati jednako detaljno kao zadarski forum. Međutim graditeljski je program, koji je u rimskim provincijama pokrenuo August a nastavili ga njegovi nasljednici,

conclusions can be made of Roman-era construction at this site, rather only some general assumptions can be made.

Besides the lack of architecture, the other key elements necessary to confirm the existence of such a temple are absent. So far the remains of cult statues of the Capitoline Triad deities have not been confirmed in Pula, nor has the existence of epigraphic testimony that would serve as evidence of a Capitolium.

As in the description of the Zadar forum, it would be worthwhile to examine the decorations of the city forum in Pula. Numerous elements of the Pula forum complex remain unknown, so that it cannot be reconstructed in as great detail as the Zadar forum. However, the architecture, which was initiated in the Roman provinces by Augustus and continued by his successors, was partially stereotyped and conceived on the model of Roman architecture in Rome and Italy, so similarities between certain architectural structures and architectural decorations can be observed throughout the Empire (Ward-Perkins 1970: 4; Mierse 1999: 53–54).

The motifs of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa are often used in the decorations of the forums in provincial cities and they appear in Pula's Antiquity heritage. A total of six pilasters were found in Pula that are decorated with protomes of Jupiter Ammon (Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144–147, 2.1.13–2.1.18). Even though the precise discovery site of these monuments is not known, the context in which the Jupiter Ammon motif appears in other Roman-era cities indicates



bio djelomično stereotipiziran i osmišljen po uzoru na rimsku arhitekturu u Rimu i Italiji, pa se sličnosti između određenih arhitektonskih objekata i arhitektonskoga dekorativnog programa mogu uočiti diljem carstva (Ward-Perkins 1970: 4; Mierse 1999: 53–54).

Motivi Jupitera Amona i Meduze često se koriste u dekorativnome programu foruma provincijskih gradova te se pojavljuju i u pulskoj antičkoj baštini. U Puli je pronađeno ukupno šest pilastara koji su bili ukrašeni protomom Jupitera Amona (Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144–147, 2.1.13–2.1.18). Iako točno nalazište tih spomenika nije poznato, kontekst u kojemu se motiv Jupitera Amona pojavljuje u drugim antičkim gradovima ukazuje na to da su vjerojatno bili sastavni dio forumske arhitekture i njegova dekorativnoga programa (Budischovsky 1973: 201). U fundusu Arheološkoga muzeja Istre postoji nekoliko primjeraka kamene plastike s prikazom Meduze koji potječu iz Pule, no kontekst je nalaza posve nesiguran (Jurkić-Girardi 1970: 35–40, T. I, sl. 2, T. II, T. IV, sl. 2; Girardi-Jurkić 2005a: 26, sl. 13). Meduza je prikazana i na oklopu carske statue koja se datira u prvu polovicu 1. st. (Jurkić-Girardi 1970: 39, T. IX, sl. 1).

Od spomenutih pilastara s protomom Jupitera Amona dva potječu iz 1. st., možda čak iz Augustova vremena, dok se ostala četiri datiraju u 3. st. (Mierse 1999: 75; Cambi 2002: 90, sl. 113, 114; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144–147). Osim pilastara datiranih u 1. st. sačuvani su i ulomci parapetnih ploča koje su se nalazile između njih. Na jednome ulomku prikazan je orao koji u kljunu drži girlandu ukrašenu raznim voćem (Budischovsky 1973: 204, sl. 3; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144, 2.1.14). Taj motiv javlja se i u dekorativnome programu rimskoga foruma u Narbonu (Perret 1956: 8, sl. 5). Girlanda obično simbolizira zahvalnost bogovima, blagoslov i obilje (Zanker 1990: 117; Elsner 1991: 58). Zbog takva izbora motiva može se zaključiti da je forumski dekorativni program u Puli bio namijenjen glorifikaciji rimske imperijalne vlasti i vladarske obitelji. U forumskome je kompleksu pronađen torzo jedne carske kultne statue, ulomak carskoga kipa s klečećim barbarinom, glava kultne statue carice Agrippine Mlađe, žene cara Klaudija, i dva veća ulomka kultne statue majke jednoga od vladara iz julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije (Giunio 1997: 192, T. 95, sl. 2; Džin 1999: 29; Cambi 2002: 130–131, sl. 180, 181; Starac 2005: 200, sl. 1–3).

Ozračje koje stvaraju dekorativni program, carske kultne statue i hram Rome i Augusta jasno ukazuje na to da je pulski forumski kompleks prvenstveno bio namijenjen imperijalnomu kultu i populariziranju službene državne propagande. Međutim nema dovoljno argumenata za pretpostavku da je središ-

that they were probably a component of forum architecture and its decorations (Budischovsky 1973: 201). Several examples of stone sculpture bearing portrayals of Medusa originally from Pula are held in the Archaeological Museum of Istria, but the context of these discoveries is not entirely certain (Jurkić-Girardi 1970: 35–40, pl. I, fig. 2, pl. II, pl. IV, fig. 2; Girardi-Jurkić 2005a: 26, fig. 13). Medusa is also shown on the armour of an imperial statue dated to the first half of the first century (Jurkić-Girardi 1970: 39, pl. IX, fig. 1).

Among the aforementioned pilasters with protomes of Jupiter Ammon, two originated in the first century, perhaps even during the Augustan era, while the remaining four date to the third century (Mierse 1999: 75; Cambi 2002: 90, fig. 113, 114; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144–147). Besides the pilasters dated to the first century, fragments of parapet slabs located between them were also preserved. One such fragment bears a depiction of an eagle holding a garland in its beak which is decorated with various fruits (Budischovsky 1973: 204, fig. 3; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 144, 2.1.14). This motif also appears in the decorations of the Roman forum in Narbonne (Perret 1956: 8, fig. 5). The garland normally symbolises gratitude to the gods, a blessing and abundance (Zanker 1990: 117; Elsner 1991: 58). Because of this selection of motifs, one may conclude that the forum decorations in Pula were intended to glorify Roman imperial authority and the ruling family. The torso of an imperial cult statue, a fragment of an imperial statue with a kneeling barbarian, the head of a cult statue to the Empress Agrippina the Younger (the wife of Claudius), and two larger fragments of a cult statue of the mother of one of the rulers from the Julio-Claudian dynasty were discovered in the forum complex (Giunio 1997: 192, P. 95, fig. 2; Džin 1999: 29; Cambi 2002: 130–131, fig. 180, 181; Starac 2005: 200, figs. 1–3).

The atmosphere created by decorations, imperial cult statues and the temple of Roma and Augustus clearly indicate that the Pula forum complex was primarily dedicated to the imperial cult and popularisation of official state propaganda. However, there are insufficient grounds to back the hypothesis that the temple was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, or to Jupiter or Hercules alone.

In Rome and other parts of the Empire, the imperial cult could be observed in any temple regardless of its formal titular, particularly if it was the central city temple (Beard *et al.* 1998: 360). The imperial cult did not have specifically defined practices applied uniformly throughout the Empire, rather it involved an entire series of different cults whose common feature was reverence for the ruler and the rul-

nji forumski hram bio posvećen određenom rimskom vladaru, kao ni za pretpostavku da je hram bio posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi, samomu Jupiteru ili Herkulu.

U Rimu i u drugim dijelovima carstva kult se vladara mogao obavljati u hramu bez obzira na njegovu službenu posvetu, naročito ako je riječ o središnjemu gradskom hramu (Beard *et al.* 1998: 360). Imperijalni kult nije imao točno definiranu praksu koja se diljem carstva primjenjivala na jedinstven način, nego je prije riječ o čitavu nizu različitih kultova kojima je zajedničko obilježje bilo štovanje vladara i vladarske obitelji (*ibid.* 318). Kao primjer može poslužiti Augustov forum u Rimu. Forumski hram bio je posvećen Marsu Osvetniku, ali je u središtu religijske pozornosti ipak bio Augustov lik i njegova djela (Ovid., *Fasti*, 5.533). Svi državni hramovi izgrađeni u Rimu za Augustova vladanja ili neposred-

ing family (*ibid.* 318). The Augustan forum in Rome can serve as an example. The forum temple was dedicated to Mars Ultor, but religious attention was centred on the image and works of Augustus (Ovid., *Fasti*, 5.533). All state temples constructed in Rome during the reign of Augustus or immediately after his death were either directly or indirectly associated with the ruler (Beard *et al.* 1998: 197).

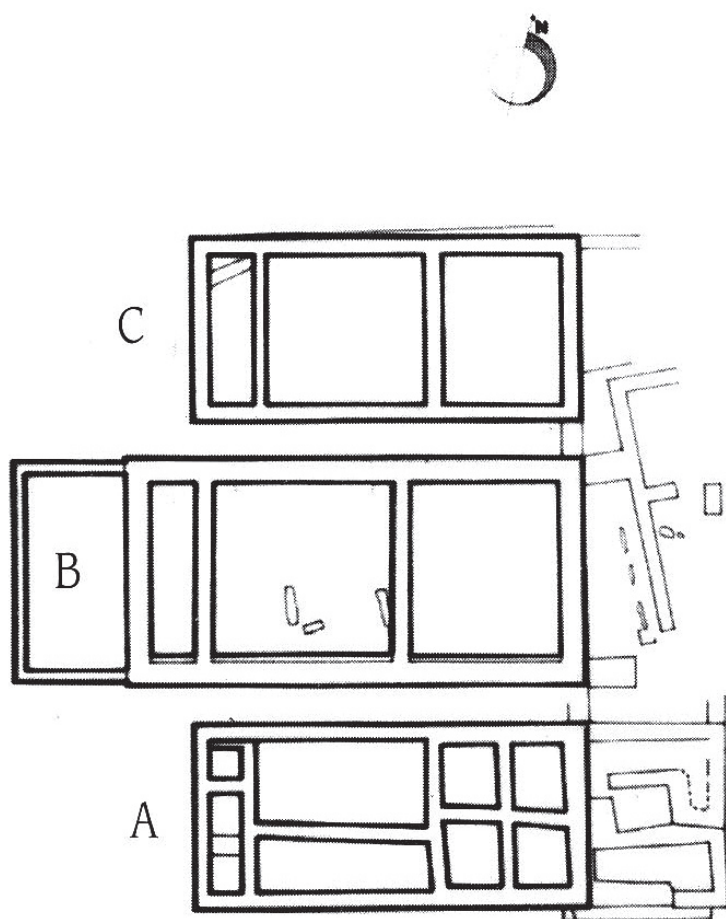
### VIZAČE (NESACTIUM)

Three temples located on the western part of the Roman forum in Nesactium, near Pula, are identified as temples of the Capitoline Triad (Fig. 13) (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 82, fig. 1). Roman Nesactium was situated at a naturally protected place dominated by the bay and valley of Budava, twelve kilometres east of Pula. Although over a hundred years have passed since archaeological research at this site commenced, it is still impossible to provide answers to numerous questions pertaining to the appearance and structure of the Roman, and particularly prehistoric, settlement (Mihovilić 2001: 9–13).

The Roman forum is located in the north-western part of the settlement near the city gates, through which the main access route passed. The appearance of the forum can only be partially reconstructed. The precise dimensions of the forum have not been determined; its length is particularly questionable, while its width is assumed to have corresponded to the total width of the three forum temples (Mihovilić & Matijašić 1998: 31). The forum was constructed on the basis of standardised formulas which are applicable to this type of architecture throughout the Roman Empire. The square in the narrower sense of the word was open to the city temples, while the remaining

three sides were encircled by a portico which was used to access the various public facilities within the forum complex (*ibid.* 32).

All three forum temples rose from a single pedestal that was about a metre higher than the forum level (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 85). The northern temple is conventionally designated with the letter C,



Slika 13. Nezakcij: forumski hramovi (Girardi Jurkić 1998: 28).

Figure 13. Nesactium: forum temples (Girardi Jurkić 1998: 28).

no nakon njegove smrti bili su u posrednoj ili neposrednoj vezi s vladarom (Beard *et al.* 1998: 197).

VIZAČE (*NESACTIUM*)

S hramovima Kapitolijske trijade identificiraju se i tri hrama koja se nalaze na zapadnome dijelu rimskoga foruma u Nezakciju (*Nesactium*) kod Pule (sl. 13) (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 82, sl. 1). Antički Nezakcij smješten je na prirodno zaštićenu mjestu koje dominira zaljevom i dolinom Budave, dvanaest kilometara istočno od Pule. Iako je proteklo više od stotinu godina otkako su započela arheološka istraživanja toga lokaliteta, još uvijek se ne može odgovoriti na brojna pitanja u vezi s izgledom i strukturom antičkoga, a posebno prapovijesnoga, naselja (Mihovilić 2001: 9–13).

Rimski forum nalazi se u jugozapadnome dijelu naselja u blizini gradskih vrata kroz koja je prolazila glavna prilazna komunikacija. Izgled se foruma može tek djelomično rekonstruirati. Točne dimenzije foruma nisu određene; posebno je upitna njegova dužina, dok se za širinu pretpostavlja da je odgovarala ukupnoj širini triju forumskih hramova (Mihovilić & Matijašić 1998: 31). Forum je izgrađen po standardiziranim obrascima koji su za taj tip arhitekture primjenjivani diljem rimskoga carstva. Trg u užemu smislu riječi bio je jednom stranom otvoren prema gradskim hramovima, a s ostalih je triju strana bio okružen trijemom iz kojega se pristupalo prostorijama raznih javnih namjena u sklopu forumskoga kompleksa (*ibid.* 32).

Sva tri forumska hrama uzdižu se s jedinstvenoga postamenta koji je bio oko metra viši od razine foruma (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 85). Sjeverni hram konvencionalno se označava slovom C, središnji slovom B, a južni slovom A. Hramovi A i C identičnih su dimenzija (7,7 m × 18,8 m), dok je središnji hram B nešto veći (9,6 m × 21,8 m) (*ibid.*). Na mjestu je tih hramova u više navrata pronađeno oko pet stotina ulomaka arhitektonske dekoracije na temelju se kojih hramovi mogu djelomično rekonstruirati i datirati (Matijašić 1996: 91). Pronađeni ulomci većinom su dijelovi trabeacija vijenaca hramova: prevladavaju ulomci koji su pripadali bočnim hramovima A i C, a manji je dio ulomaka pripadao središnjemu hramu B (*ibid.*). Izračunato je da je ukupna visina središnjega hrama, od baze stilobata do vrha sljemena, iznosila oko 14 m, a bočnih hramova 11,73 m, što ukazuje na monumentalan izgled hramova i njihovu vizualnu dominaciju forumom (Matijašić 1996: 103).

Tijekom iskopavanja temelja hramova pronađeno je više žarnih grobova iz željeznoga doba. To potvrđuje da su hramovi podignuti na mjestu gdje se u to vrijeme prostirala nekropola. Najveći se dio predmeta položenih u grobove datira u 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. (Mihovilić 1996: 9–64). Hram A podignut je na temeljima koji se mogu datirati u kasno republikansko doba ili

the central with the letter B, and the southern with the letter A. Temples A and C have identical dimensions (7.7 m × 18.8 m), while the central temple B is somewhat larger (9.6 m × 21.8 m) (*ibid.*). Approximately five hundred fragments of architectural decoration were found at the site of these temples, so that the temples can be partially reconstructed and dated (Matijašić 1996: 91). The fragments found are mostly parts of the trabeation of the temple's cornice: most of the fragments belonged to the lateral temples A and C, while a smaller portion belonged to the central temple B (*ibid.*). The total height of the central temple, from the stylobate base to the rooftop, has been calculated as approximately 14 m, while that of the side temples as 11.73 m, which indicates the monumental appearance of the temples and their visual domination of the forum (Matijašić 1996: 103).

During excavation of the temple foundations, a number of Iron Age urnfield graves were found. This confirms that the temples were raised at a location over which a necropolis extended at the time. Most of the items placed in the graves were dated to the fourth and third centuries BC (Mihovilić 1996: 9–64). Temple A was erected on foundations that can be dated to the late Republic period or to the mid-first century at the latest, but there is no evidence that this building functioned as a temple at that time (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 84–85; Matijašić 1996: 104). The fragments of stone architectural decorations from temples A and C, dated to the second half of the first century (probably during the Flavian era), are the earliest certain confirmation of the existence of temples in the Nesactium forum (Matijašić 1996: 104). Besides having the same dimensions, these temples also had identical cornice trabeation, so it can be assumed that they were constructed simultaneously. It is probably a matter of temples with four columns on their façades (*tetrastylus*) (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 85). It would appear that the central temple did not yet exist at that time. Fragments of the other discovered cornice trabeation are attributed to temple B due to their dimensions and construction has been dated to the first quarter of the third century (Matijašić 1996: 104). If this temple had existed prior to this time, it had architectural decorations identical to those of the lateral temples, because only two different trabeations were identified. All three forum temples in Nesactium lost their original function not later than the fifth century.

As in Zadar and Pula, the dedication of the forum temples in Nesactium is open to question. There are a number of hypotheses on this. According to one, the cult of the Capitoline Triad was revered in temple A since the establishment of the colony of Ro-



najkasnije do sredine 1. st., no nema dokaza da je u to vrijeme građevina imala funkciju hrama (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 84–85; Matijašić 1996: 104). Ulomci kamene arhitektonske dekoracije hramova A i C, koji se datiraju u drugu polovicu 1. st. (vjerojatno u doba Flavijevaca), najranija je sigurna potvrda postojanja hramova na nezakcijskome forumu (Matijašić 1996: 104). Osim što su bili istih dimenzija, hramovi su imali i identičnu trabeaciju vijenca pa se može pretpostaviti da su građeni istovremeno. Vjerojatno je riječ o hramovima s četirima stupovima na pročelju (*tetrastylus*) (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 85). Čini se da središnji hram u to vrijeme još nije postojao. Hramu B se zbog dimenzija atribuiraju ulomci druge pronađene trabeacije vijenca koji gradnju datiraju u prvu četvrtinu 3. st. (Matijašić 1996: 104). Ako je hram postojao i prije toga, imao je identičnu arhitektonsku dekoraciju kao i bočni hramovi jer su identificirane samo dvije različite trabeacije. Sva tri forumska hrama u Nezakciju izgubila su svoju prvobitnu funkciju najkasnije u 5. st.

U Nezakciju je, kao i u Zadru i Puli, upitna posveta forumskih hramova. Postoji više pretpostavki o tome. Prema jednoj od njih kult Kapitolijske trijade štovao se u hramu A još od osnutka kolonije rimskih građana u Puli, a od Augustova je vremena bio u funkciji carskoga kulta. Središnji je hram za vladanja Marka Aurelija postao svetište Kapitolijske trijade (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 86). Prema drugoj pretpostavci središnji je hram otprilike od početka 3. st. funkcionirao kao kapitolijski hram (Matijašić 1996: 104).

Treba istaknuti da forumski hramovi u Nezakciju ne ispunjavaju dovoljan broj standardiziranih kriterija koji su potrebni za sigurnu potvrdu posvete Kapitolijskoj trijadi. Postojanje triju hramova i njihov dominantan položaj na forumu jedina su dva potencijalna elementa identifikacije (Todd 1985: 57) koja bez skulpturalne i epigrafske potvrde nije pouzdana.

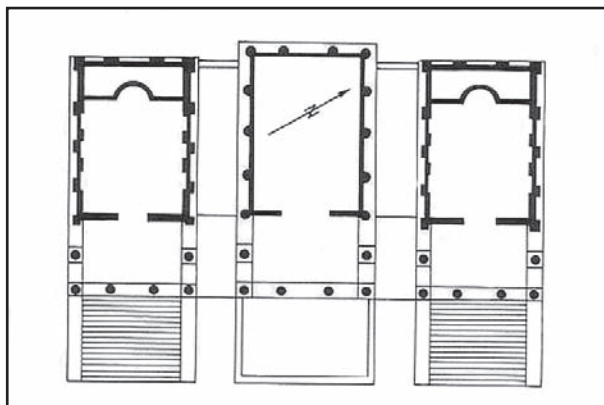
Bliske paralele za tlocrtno rješenje nezakcijskih hramova nalazimo u forumskim hramovima u Sbeitli (*Sufetula*) u Tunisu (Barton 1982: 305, 338, sl. 5a). I ondje postoje tri hrama od kojih je središnji (hram B) bio veći i viši od bočnih hramova (sl. 14) (hramovi A i C). Nezakcijskim hramovima slični su i po dimenzijama. Dimenzije su hrama B 19,3 m × 10,4 m, a hramova A i C 17,9 m × 9,6 m (Barton 1982: 328). Njihova ukupna širina, kao i u Nezakciju, ujedno je širina samoga foruma. Hramovi su bili pseudoperipteri tetrastilnih pronaosa s još dvama stupovima iza bočnih stupova na pročelju (*ibid.* 338, sl. 5a). Tetrastilni pronaos vjerojatno su imali i nezakcijski hramovi (Mihovilić & Matijašić 1998: 30). Sufetulski bočni hramovi bili su međusobno identični kao i nezakcijski bočni hramovi. Između podija središnjega

man citizens in Pula, while since the Augustan era it functioned as a part of the imperial cult. The central temple became a shrine of the Capitoline Triad during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 86). According to another hypothesis, the central temple functioned as a Capitoline temple since the beginning of the third century (Matijašić 1996: 104).

It should be noted that the forum temples in Nesactium do not meet a sufficient number of the standardised criteria required for certain confirmation of dedication to the Capitoline Triad. The existence of three temples and their domination of the forum is one of two potential identification elements (Todd 1985: 57), which is not reliable without sculptural and epigraphic confirmations.

Close parallels to the layout solution of the Nesactium temples can be found in the forum temples in Sbeitli (*Sufetula*) in Tunisia (Barton 1982: 305, 338, fig. 5a). This site also has three temples, of which the central one (temple B) was larger and higher than the lateral temples (Fig. 14) (temples A and C). The Nesactium temples are also similar in terms of dimensions. The dimensions of temple B are 19.3 m × 10.4 m, while those of temples A and C are 17.9 m × 9.6 m (Barton 1982: 328). Their total width, like in Nesactium, also covers the width of the forum itself. The temples were pseudoperipteral tetrastyle pronaoi with two additional columns behind the lateral columns on the façade (*ibid.* 338, fig. 5a). The Nesactium temples probably also had tetrastyle pronaoi (Mihovilić & Matijašić 1998: 30). The Sufetula lateral temples were mutually identical, as are their Nesactium counterparts. Two passages existed between the podium of the central temples and the podiums of the lateral temples in Sufetula through which the city behind the temples was connected to the forum (Barton 1982: 305). This urban planning solution may also have been applied in Nesactium, at least during one construction phase of the forum temples. The width of the passages between the Nesactium temples A and B is 1.7 m, and 2 m between temples B and C (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 86). Traffic proceeded from the main city gates toward the rear of the forum temples, which backs this hypothesis. Construction of the entire forum complex in Sufetula has been dated to the second quarter of the second century based on dedicatory inscriptions from the time of Antoninus Pius which stood at the entrance to the forum (Barton 1982: 305).

Besides the forum temples in Sufetula, close parallels can also be drawn between the Nesactium temples and the forum temples of the Roman city in the village of Bolonia (*Baelo Claudia*), fifteen kilometres north-west of the city of Tarifa in Spain. Here as

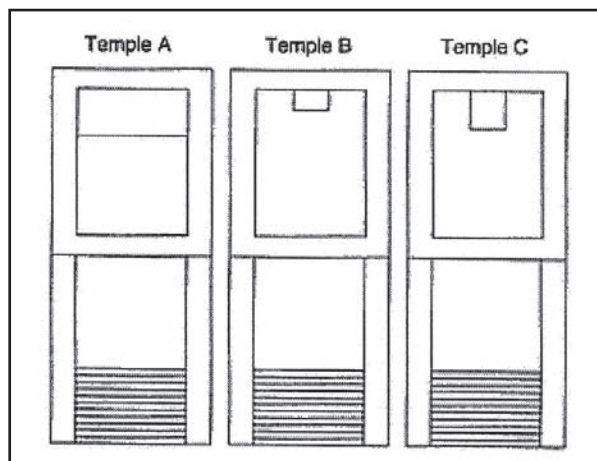


Slika 14. Sbeitla: forumski hramovi (Barton 1982: 338).

Figure 14. Sbeitla: forum temples (Barton 1982: 338).

hrama i podija bočnih hramova u Sufetuli postojala su dva prolaza s kojima je dio grada iza hramova bio povezan s forumom (Barton 1982: 305). Ovakvo urbanističko rješenje možda je bilo primijenjeno i u Nezakciju, barem u jednoj građevinskoj fazi forumskih hramova. Širina prolaza između nezakcijskih hramova A i B iznosi 1,7 m, a između hramova B i C 2 m (Girardi Jurkić 1996: 86). Od glavnih gradskih vrata prometna je komunikacija bila usmjerena upravo prema začelju forumskih hramova, što ide u prilog ovoj pretpostavci. Izgradnja čitavoga forumskog kompleksa u Sufetuli datira se u drugu četvrtinu 2. st. na temelju posvetnih natpisa iz vremena Antonina Pija koji su stajali iznad ulaza na forum (Barton 1982: 305).

Osim s forumskim hramovima u Sufetuli bliske se paralele mogu uspostaviti između nezakcijskih hramova i forumskih hramova rimskoga grada u selu Bolonia (*Baelo Claudia*), petnaest kilometara sjevero-

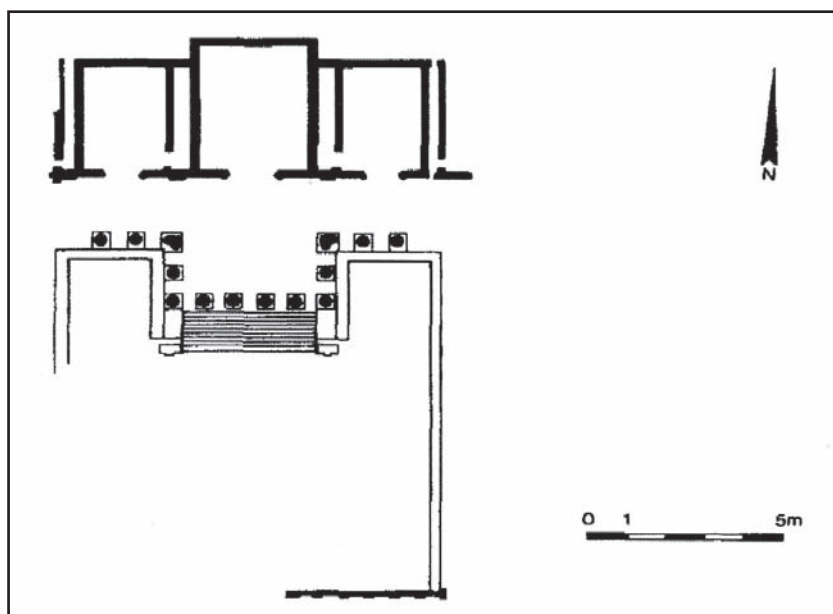


Slika 15. Bolonia: forumski hramovi (Mierse 1999: 190).

Figure 15. Bolonia: forum temples (Mierse 1999: 190).

well three temples stood one next to the other, each with identical dimensions (Fig. 15) (Barton 1982: 268; Mierse 1999: 190, fig. 56). They were probably tetrastyle pseudoperipteros (Mierse 1999: 191). Their construction did not commence simultaneously. The first construction phase of temple C has been dated to between 40 and 60, while temples A and B were constructed during Nero's reign (*ibid.* 192). The temples acquired their final appearance and probably became functional during Hadrian's time, which preceded the period of temple construction in Sufetula (*ibid.* 192–193).

Even though the temple complexes of the forum in Sufetula and Baelo, like the one in Nesactium, are almost regularly deemed temples of the Capitoline Triad, there is no unambiguous confirmation thereof (Barton 1982: 268). The model for this urban planning solution to the forum temples may have been the temple complex of the Roman forum in Brescia (*Brixia*) (*ibid.* 264). There three separate, wide cellae were linked by a common façade, while the hexastyle pro-



Slika 16. Brescia: forumski hramovi (Todd 1985: 61).

Figure 16. Brescia: forum temples (Todd 1985: 61).

naos in front of the larger, central cella protruded toward the forum in relation to the façades of the lateral temples, which is considered unique among all known Roman architecture (Fig. 16) (Todd 1985: 61, fig. 46). Construction of these temples has been dated to the fourth year of Vespasian's consulship (73. g.) (Barton 1982: 264; Todd 1985: 61). The forum temples in Brescia cannot be reliably attributed as dedicated to the Capitoline Triad either.

rozapadno od grada Tarifa u Španjolskoj. I ondje se tri hrama nalaze jedan uz drugi i podjednaki su dimenzija (sl. 15) (Barton 1982: 268; Mierse 1999: 190, sl. 56). Najvjerojatnije je riječ o tetrastilnim pseudoperipterima (Mierse 1999: 191). Njihova gradnja nije počela istovremeno. Prva građevinska faza hrama C datira se između 40. i 60. g., a hramova A i B u vrijeme Neronova vladanja (*ibid.* 192). Hramovi su dobili konačan izgled i profunkcionirali vjerojatno u Trajanovo vrijeme, što je prethodilo razdoblju gradnje hramova u Sufetuli (*ibid.* 192–193).

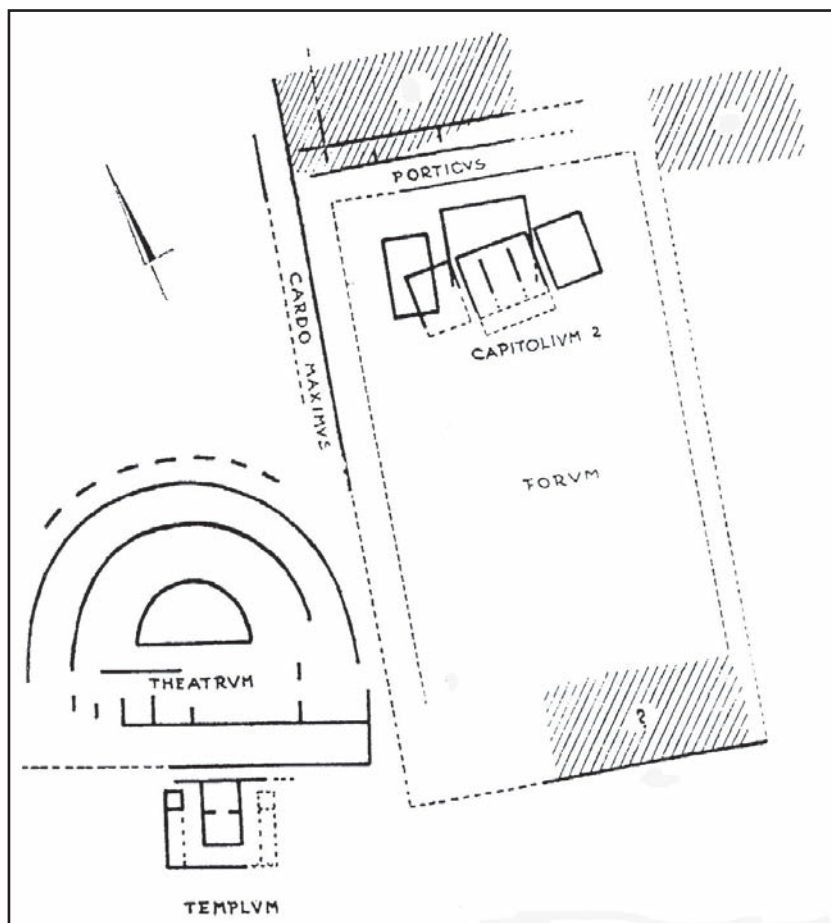
Iako se hramski kompleksi foruma u Sufetuli i Baelu, kao i u Nezakciju, gotovo redovito smatraju hramovima Kapitolijske trijade, za to ne postoji sigurna potvrda (Barton 1982: 268). Takvu je urbanističkomu rješenju forumskih hramova uzor možda bio hramski kompleks rimskoga foruma u Bresciji (*Brixia*) (*ibid.* 264). Ondje su tri odvojene, široke cele bile povezane jedinstvenom fasadom, a heksastilni pronaos ispred veće, središnje cele bio je isturen prema forumu u odnosu na fasadu bočnih hramova, što se smatra jedinstvenom pojavom u poznatoj rimskoj arhitekturi (sl. 16) (Todd 1985: 61, sl. 46). Izgradnja hramova datira se u četvrtu godinu Vespazijanove konzulata (73. g.) (Barton 1982: 264; Todd 1985: 61). Ni za forumske hramove u Bresciji ne može se pouzdano reći da su bili posvećeni Kapitolijskoj trijadi.

Svi su ovi hramovi, ili barem neki od njih, mogli biti hramovi carskoga kulta. Njihov dominantan položaj na forumu kazuje tek to da su bili u funkciji službene religije. Osim središnjega su se hrama za propagandu rimske vlasti često rabile i sporedne građevine forumskih kompleksa. Tako je vjerojatno bilo i u Nezakciju. U funkciji carskoga kulta mogla je biti jedna prostorija u sjevernome dijelu forumskoga kompleksa (Marušić 1986: 52, prilog 2; Rosada 1997: 42).

### SOLIN (SALONA)

U odnosu na razmatrane forumske hramove još je manje jasna slika o kapitoliskome hramu i forumu u Saloni, glavnome gradu provincije Dalmacije. Ondje se u pitanje dovodi i sam položaj gradskoga

All of these temples, or at least some of them, may be temples of the imperial cult. Their dominant position on their forums only demonstrates that they served the function of the official religion. Besides the central temple, the Roman authorities often used the auxiliary buildings of the forum complex for propaganda purposes. This was probably the case in Nesactium. The establishment of the imperial cult may have been served by a room in the northern section of the forum complex (Marušić 1986: 52, appendix 2; Rosada 1997: 42).



Slika 17. Salona: teatar i forumski kompleks s hramovima (Rendić-Miočević 1991: 257).

Figure 17. Salona: theatre and forum complex with temples (Rendić-Miočević 1991: 257).

### SOLIN (SALONA)

In comparison to the forum temples considered above, the picture of the Capitoline temple and forum in Salona, the capital city of the Dalmatian province, is even less clear. The position of the city forum itself is subject to question. On the one hand, the predominant view among the scholarly public is that the Salona forum and temple to the Capitoline Triad (Fig. 17) were located east and north-east of the theatre, within the urban whole which, based on Dyggve, is popularly called *Urbs vetus*



forumu. S jedne strane u znanstvenoj javnosti prevladava mišljenje da su se salonitanski forum i hram Kapitolijske trijade (sl. 17) nalazili istočno i sjeveroistočno od teatra, unutar gradske cjeline koja se po Dyggve popularno naziva *Urbs vetus* (Dyggve 1991: 242; Rendić-Miočević 1977: 56, sl. 103; 1991: 256–257, sl. 28; Clairmont 1975: 13, 15, T. 7). S druge strane postoji kontroverzno mišljenje koje ne negira ovo prevladavajuće, ali ga dovodi u pitanje: smatra se naime da se glavni forum, ili barem jedan manji forum (što bi podrazumijevalo da ih je Salona imala više), nalazio uz gradska vrata *Porta Caesarea* (Ilakovac 1992: 67).

Znanstveni stav jasno potvrđuje da su brojna pitanja u vezi sa salonitanskim 'poganskim' javnim objektima još uvijek otvorena. Na mjestu arhitektonskoga kompleksa istočno i sjeveroistočno od gradskoga teatra, kamo se gradski forum najčešće ubicira, više su puta provedena samo sondažna arheološka iskapanja na temelju kojih se nije uspjela stvoriti cjelovita slika o obilježjima kompleksa (Dyggve 1991; Clairmont 1975). Ovako izgleda sumaran pregled rezultata istraživanja: početak naseljavanja datira se u sredinu 2. st. pr. Kr.; arhitektura toga razdoblja uništena je zbog građevinskih radova u rano carskome dobu; početkom 1. st. forum je proširen prema jugu, to jest prema gradskoj luci; zbog pada terena prema morskoj obali proširenje je ostvareno izgradnjom platforme površine 45 m × 65 m na kojoj je podignut forumski hram s trima celama; uz istočnu stranu foruma flankirana je gradska kurija, a forumski prostor sjeverno od hrama ograđen je portikatom; u sljedećoj fazi koja se datira u 2. i 3. st. gradski je forum dodatno proširen; na sjevernoj strani izgrađen je monumentalni portik, a čitav je sjeverni dio foruma ograđen zidom; u 4. st. veći je dio forumskoga kompleksa izgubio funkciju javnoga prostora jer se javni život preselio u episkopalno središte, u sjeverozapadni dio istočnoga dijela grada (Clairmont 1975a: 106, 107).

Na mjestu samoga forumskoga hrama Ejnar Dyggve otvorio je ukupno sedamnaest sonda (Dyggve 1991: 243, sl. 25). Pronađeno je 337 ulomaka arhitektonske kamene plastike na temelju kojih su izdvojene četiri građevinske faze nastanka gradskoga foruma i barem dvije preinake izvornoga tlocrta forumskih hramova (*ibid.* 244, 248, sl. 27). Pretpostavlja se da su u najranijoj fazi hramova, datiranoj u sredinu 1. st., postojala dva hrama između kojih se nalazila tribina (*ibid.* 246). Kao paralelu autor navodi prostorno rješenje forumskih hramova u Puli. U drugoj se fazi popunjavao prostor između tribine i hramova, proširivale su se bočne prostorije i oblikovale jedinstvene fasade građevine (*ibid.* 249). Sljedeća se faza datira u Dioklecijanovo vrijeme i pretpostavlja se da

(Dyggve 1991: 242; Rendić-Miočević 1977: 56, fig. 103; 1991: 256–257, fig. 28; Clairmont 1975: 13, 15, pl. 7). On the other hand, there is a controversial theory which does not contradict this predominant view, but brings it into question: namely, according to this view the main forum, or at least a smaller forum (which would imply that Salona had several) was situated next to the *Porta Caesarea* city gate (Ilakovac 1992: 67).

The scholarly opinion clearly shows that numerous questions pertaining to the Salona 'pagan' public buildings remain unanswered. Several archaeological test excavations were conducted at the site of the architectural complex east and north-east of the city theatre – which is where the most often assumed location of the city forum is located – but these failed to generate a comprehensive picture of the complex's features (Dyggve 1991; Clairmont 1975). Here is a summary overview of the results of research: the beginning of settlement is dated to the mid-second century BC; the architecture of this period was destroyed due to construction works in the early Empire period; in the early first century the forum was expanded to the south, toward the city's port; due to the decline of the terrain toward the seashore, expansion was accomplished by the construction of 45 m × 65 m platforms on which the forum temple with three cellae was raised; the city curia was flanked along the eastern side of the forum, while the forum space north of the temple was enclosed by a portico; in the next phase, dated to the second and third centuries, the city forum was additionally expanded; a monumental porticus was constructed on the northern side, while the entire northern portion of the forum was enclosed by a wall; in the fourth century most of the forum complex lost its function as a public space because public life moved to the episcopal seat, in the north-western part of the city's eastern section (Clairmont 1975a: 106, 107).

Ejnar Dyggve opened a total of seventeen test trenches at the site of forum itself (Dyggve 1991: 243, fig. 25). A total of 337 fragments of architectural stone sculpture were found, on which basis four construction phases for emergence of the city forum were discerned, as well as two reformulations of the original layout of the forum temples (*ibid.* 244, 248, fig. 27). It is assumed that in the earliest phase of the temples, dated to the mid-first century, there were two temples with a tribunal between them (*ibid.* 246). Dyggve cited the spatial solution of the forum temples in Pula as a parallel. In the second phase, the space between the tribunal and temples was filled in, the adjunct rooms were expanded and shaped into a consolidated façade for the building (*ibid.* 249). The next phase dates to Diocletian's era

se prostor tada posve reorganizirao. Uzme li se to u obzir, teško se može govoriti o kultnoj namjeni novonastale arhitektonske strukture.

Građevinske faze koje je Ejnar Dyggve izdvojio na terenu nisu se mogle prepoznati pri naknadno objavljenim sondažnim iskopavanjima (Clairmont 1975: 15). Na prostoru gradskoga foruma otvoreno je pet sonda od kojih je jedna postavljena na mjesto pretpostavljenoga hrama Kapitolijske trijade (*ibid.* 65, T. 7). Potvrđeno je da je postojala građevina s trija prostorijska, što odgovara drugoj Dyggveovoj fazi. Tlocrt ove građevine sličan je tlocrtu kapitolijske u Veroni (Frothingham 1914: 137, T. II). Većina graditeljskih aktivnosti na istraživanome se mjestu odvijala tijekom 1. st. (Clairmont 1975: 15).

Zbog samo djelomičnoga poznavanja prostornoga plana forumskoga kompleksa i općenito gradskoga plana Salone prilično je nezahvalno raspravljati o kapitolijskome hramu. Hramski kompleks koji je Dyggve pripisao svojoj prvoj, jedinoj pouzdano sakralnoj fazi, na terenu nije prepoznatljiv. U Saloni je pronađen jedan natpis posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iu[noni] / Reginae Mine[rvae]*, međutim, on sam nije dovoljan za potvrdu hrama posvećenoga tim božanstvima, naročito zato što se u jednoj restituiranoj verziji toga natpisa nagovještava panteonski karakter posvete (Bulić 1908: 28). Ni pronađena monumentalna kamena plastika zasad ne potvrđuje javno štovanje božanstava Kapitolijske trijade u Saloni.

S druge strane ostalo je više tragova o službenome propagiranju kulta vladara i vladarskih obitelji. U Saloni je pronađen reljef s prikazom Jupitera Amona, ali s obzirom na to da je izgubljen, možemo samo pretpostaviti da je, kao u Zadru i Puli, funkcionirao kao dekoracija forumskoga prostora (Dyggve 1991: 247). Za temu ovoga rada posebno je značajan jedan salonitanski natpis (CIL III 1947 = 8566), datiran u 54. g., na kojemu se spominje izgradnja portika posvećenoga vrhovnomu Jupiteru i božanskomu Klaudiju (Šašel Kos 1994: 204, br. 1). Portik je dao podići oslobođenik Herma, salonitanski *sevir* i *Augustalis*. S obzirom na karakter posvete čini se opravdanim ubicirati portik u gradsko središte, možda baš u forumski kompleks. Izgleda da je izgradnja portika počela odmah nakon ubojstva i deifikacije cara Klaudija u listopadu 54. g. Posveta portika vrhovnomu Jupiteru i božanskomu Klaudiju otvara prostor pretpostavci da je u Saloni postojao i hram posvećen ovim božanstvima. Titular je imao možda upravo središnji hramski kompleks salonitanskoga foruma koji je Dyggve pripisao prvomu periodu i datirao ga u sredinu 1. st. (Dyggve 1991: 247).

U Saloni je identificirano više skupina kulturnih carskih statua koje se datiraju od ranoga principata do

and it is assumed that this area was entirely reorganised at the time. If one takes this into consideration, it is then difficult to speak of the cult purpose of the newly created architectural structure.

After publication of new test excavations, the construction phases discerned by Dyggve could no longer be recognised in the field (Clairmont 1975: 15). Five test pits were opened in the city forum, of which one was placed at the site of the assumed temple to the Capitoline Triad (*ibid.* 65, pl. 7). It was confirmed that there was a building with three rooms, which corresponds to Dyggve's second phase. The layout of this building is similar to the layout of the Capitolium in Verona (Frothingham 1914: 137, pl. II). Most construction activities in the examined area proceeded during the first century (Clairmont 1975: 15).

Due to the only partial knowledge of the physical layout of the forum complex and the general urban layout of Salona, discussing the Capitoline temple is a rather thankless task. The temple complex that Dyggve attributed to the first, only sacral phase is not recognisable in the field. An inscription dedicated to the Capitoline Triad was found in Salona: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iu[noni] / Reginae Mine[rvae]*, but this is not enough to confirm that the temple was dedicated to these deities, especially because in one restored version of this inscription the pantheon character of the dedication can be discerned (Bulić 1908: 28). The monumental stone sculpture found so far similarly does not confirm public reverence for the deities of the Capitoline Triad in Salona.

On the other hand, there are a number of traces of the official propagation of the cult of the rulers and the ruling families. A relief was found in Salona bearing a depiction of Jupiter Ammon, but since it has been lost, it can be assumed that, as in Zadar and Pula, it functioned as a decoration of the forum area (Dyggve 1991: 247). One Salona inscription (CIL III 1947 = 8566), dated to 54 AD, is particularly relevant to this study, as it mentions the construction of a porticus dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the divine Claudius (Šašel Kos 1994: 204, no. 1). The porticus was raised by the freedman Herma, a Salona *sevir* and *Augustalis*. Given the character of the dedication, it would appear justified to place this porticus in the city centre, perhaps precisely in the forum complex. It seems that construction of the porticus commenced immediately after the murder and deification of Claudius in October of 54. The dedication of the porticus to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the divine Claudius opens the way for the hypothesis that there was a temple in Salona dedicated to these deities. The central temple complex

tetrarhijskoga doba (Cambi 1998: 49). Najbrojnija je skupina onih koje pripadaju julijevsko-klaudijevskoj dinastiji. Poznate su dvije dječje glave koje se pripisuju Germanikovim sinovima Neronu Cezaru i Druzu Cezaru, dva carska torza i jedna obezglavljena statua (Schmid 1924: 45–46, sl. 1, 2, T. V; Cambi 1998: 49–50, sl. 11, 13, 14; 2000: 258–261; 2002a: 121, sl. 14–15; 2005: 29–32, sl. 28–29, 31). Istoj se skupini pripisuje i monumentalni torzo nagoga kipa koji sjedi (Cambi 1998: 50, sl. 12; 2002a: 112, sl. 16; 2005: 31, sl. 30). Statua vjerojatno prikazuje jednoga od careva iz dinastije Julijevaca-Klaudijevaca, a ikonografijom se približava Jupiterovim kulturnim statuama. Taj se Jupiterov tip popularizirao nakon obnove Kapitolijskoga hrama u Rimu u Sulino vrijeme kada je stara terakotna statua zamijenjena novom statuom boga koji sjedi, izrađenom u hrzelefantinskoj tehnici po uzoru na helenske, a kasnije i helenističke statue Zeusa (Platner & Ashby 1929: 297–302, s. v. *Aedes Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini*; Zadoks Jitta 1938: 54–55; Stamper 2005: 83). Pretpostavlja se da je ova kasnorepublikanska statua prikazivala Jupitera kako sjedi na tronu (niskoga naslona ili bez njega): glavom je bio okrenut malo udesno; himation, koji je bio učvoren u predjelu koljena, prekrivao mu je struk i noge; bio je obuven u sandale; u lijevoj, visoko uzdignutoj ruci držao je skeptar, a u ispruženoj desnoj ruci munju (Zadoks Jitta 1938: 50, 54). Čini se da je salonitanska statua imala uzdignutu desnu ruku po čemu se razlikuje od opisanoga tipa. Preuzimanje ikonografskih detalja jasno ukazuje na to da su u službenoj državnoj propagandi Jupiter i rimski vladari bili usko povezani.

Kulturna statua diviniziranoga Augusta, koja se nalazila u hramu Božanskoga Augusta u Rimu, bila je izrađena po uzoru na sjedeću statu kapitolijskoga Jupitera i vjerojatno je služila kao uzor određenim statuama carskoga kulta u provincijama (Fishwick 1992: 244). U hramu Rome i Augusta u Cezareji, koji je oko 10. g. pr. Kr. podigao Herod Veliki, nalazila se slična Augustova statua. Josip Flavije dovodi je u vezu s Fidijinom statuom Zeusa Olimpijskoga (*B. J.*, I, 21, 7). Tomu tipu pripada i Augustova statua iz Kume koja se čuva u muzeju Hermitage u St. Petersburgu (Брито́ва *et al.* 1975: 31, sl. 36). Sjedeća statua jupiterskoga tipa, koja vjerojatno prikazuje diviniziranoga Augusta, pronađena je u Augusteju rimskoga foruma u Tivoliju (*Tibur*) (Pacifi 1920: 90; Zanker 1990: 317–318, sl. 249). S foruma u Leptis Magni potječe sjedeća statua cara Klaudija koja je najvjerojatnije podignuta još za njegova života (Zanker 1990: 318, sl. 250). Kao i u svim navedenim primjerima, sasvim je sigurno da je salonitanska sjedeća kulturna statua pripadala inventaru hrama carskoga kulta u Saloni.

of the Salona forum, which Dyggve attributed to the first period and dated to the mid-first century (Dyggve 1991: 247), perhaps had this very titular.

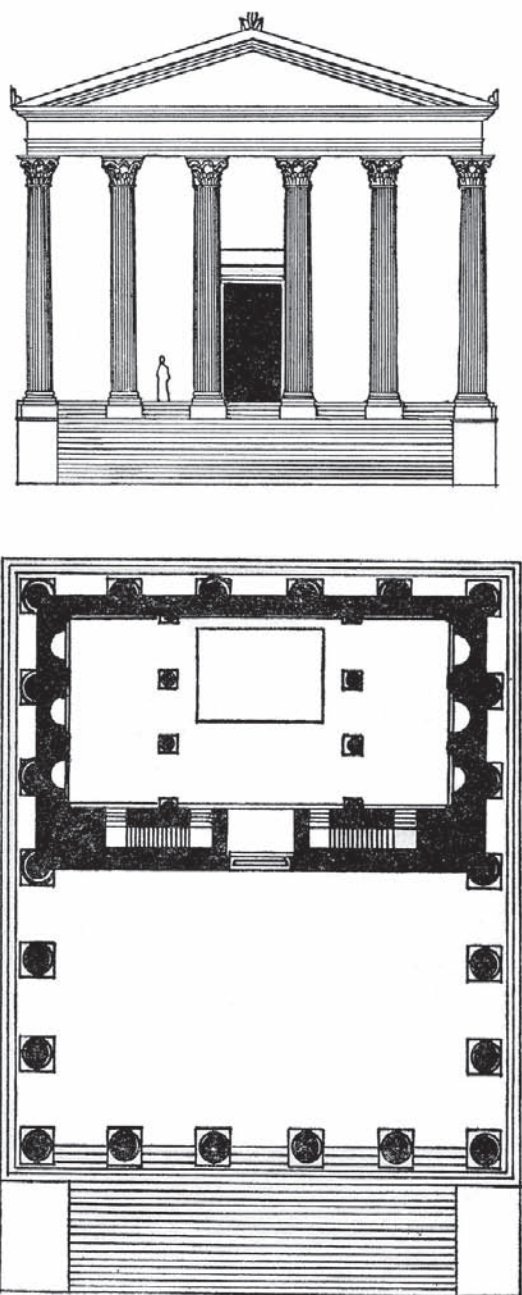
Several groups of imperial cult statues have been identified in Salona, which were dated to the early Principate to the Tetrarchy (Cambi 1998: 49). The most numerous group consists of those belonging to the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Two children's heads are known which are ascribed to the sons of Germanicus, Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, two imperial torsos and one headless statue (Schmid 1924: 45–46, figs. 1, 2, pl. V; Cambi 1998: 49–50, figs. 11, 13, 14; 2000: 258–261; 2002a: 121, figs. 14–15; 2005: 29–32, figs. 28–29, 31). A monumental torso of a nude statue in sitting position is ascribed to the same group (Cambi 1998: 50, fig. 12; 2002a: 112, fig. 16; 2005: 31, fig. 30). The statue probably depicts one of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, while its iconography approaches that of Jupiter's cult statues. This Jupiter type was popularised after restoration of the Capitoline Temple in Rome in Sulla's time, when the old terracotta statue was replaced with a new statue of the god seated, rendered in chryselephantine technique based on the model of Hellenic and later of Hellenistic statues of Zeus (Platner & Ashby 1929: 297–302, s. v. *Aedes Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini*; Zadoks Jitta 1938: 54–55; Stamper 2005: 83). It is assumed that this late Republican statue depicted Jupiter sitting on a throne (with a low back rest or none at all): the head was turned slightly to the right; the himation, which was knotted at the knees, covered his waist and legs; he was shod in sandals; in his left hand, raised high, he held a sceptre, and a thunderbolt in his extended right hand (Zadoks Jitta 1938: 50, 54). It would appear that the Salona statue had a raised right hand which distinguishes it from the described type. The assumption of iconographic details clearly indicates that in the official state propaganda Jupiter and the Roman rulers were closely associated.

The cult statue of the divinised Augustus, which was located in the Temple of Divus Augustus in Rome, was modelled after the sitting statue of the Capitoline Jupiter and probably in its turn served as a model for certain statues of the imperial cult in the provinces (Fishwick 1992: 244). The temple of Roma and Augustus in Caesarea, constructed at around 10 BC by Herod the Great, contained a similar statue of Augustus. Flavius Josephus associated it with Pheidius's statue of Zeus Olympius (*B. J.*, I, 21, 7). The statue of Augustus from Cuma which is held in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Брито́ва *et al.* 1975: 31, fig. 36) also belongs to this type. A seated statue of the Jupiter type, which probably depicts the divinised Augustus, was found in the Augusteum of the Roman forum in Tivoli (*Tibur*)



## NIN (AENONA)

Postojanje hrama Kapitolijske trijade u Ninu (*Aenona*) također je upitno. Taj liburnski grad dobio je status rimskoga municipija vjerojatno za Tiberijeva vladanja (Suić 1968: 38–39; 1969: 70–71). Zbog podvrgavanja rimskom imperijalizmu u Ninu nije, za razliku od Zadra, došlo do radikalne promjene urbanističke sheme, nego se ona postupno prilagođavala rimskim urbanističkim modelima. Rimski forum s hramom podignut je na najvišoj i najistaknutijoj gradskoj točki, na istome mjestu gdje se nalazilo središte predrimске Enone, međutim zbog slabe istraženosti toga prostora malo se zna o pro-



Slika 18. Nin: forumski hram (Suić 1976: 137).

Figure 18. Nin: forum temple (Suić 1976: 137).

(Pacifici 1920: 90; Zanker 1990: 317–318, fig. 249). The statue of Emperor Claudius seated, which was probably made during his lifetime, came from the forum in Leptis Magna (Zanker 1990: 318, fig. 250). As in all of the aforementioned examples, it is entirely certain that the Salona sitting cult statue belonged to the inventory of the temple of the imperial cult in Salona.

## NIN (AENONA)

The existence of a temple of the Capitoline Triad in Nin (*Aenona*) is also questionable. This Liburnian city acquired the status of Roman municipium probably during the reign of Tiberius (Suić 1968: 38–39; 1969: 70–71). Due to its exposure to Roman imperialism, Nin, unlike Zadar, did not experience radical changes in its urban layout, rather it gradually adapted to Roman urban planning models. The Roman forum with a temple was raised at the highest and most prominent point in the city, which was also the heart of the pre-Roman *Aenona*. However, due to the low level of research into this area, little is known about the layout and dimensions of the forum complex (Suić 1968: 46; Ilakovic 1999: 3, fig. 1). The main city temple was erected on the western side of the forum in Nin. Marble fragments of the cornice of the ground-level portion of a portico were found behind it, which indicates the possibility that the area around the temple or perhaps the entire forum were encircled by a portico (Suić 1969: 91). Further evidence in this regard is the discovery of an inscription (CIL III 14322<sup>4</sup>) which mentions construction of *tabernae* and part of the forum complex (*pergula et maenianum*) which probably refers to the upper floor of the portico (Schmitz 1875: 886–887; Smith 1875: 723; Medini 1969: 53, no. 13; Suić 1969: 91).

The dimensions of the *Aenona* temple make it the largest Roman-era temple so far known in Croatia (Fig. 18). It was 24.9 m, 21.3 m wide, and the height of its podium was over 3 m (Suić 1968: pl. XXV, 3; 2003: 240, fig. 97; Mylonas 1971: 214; Ilakovic 1995: 205; Ilakovic 1997: 86, fig. 3). The temple has an exceptionally spacious pronaos with six columns on the facade which occupied half of the temple's surface. The other half consisted of two rows of columns divided into a wider central and two narrower lateral spaces (Suić 1968: pl. XXV, 2). There were three niches in the lateral walls of the cella which probably housed the cult statues of the deities worshipped in the temple (*ibid.* 49). The access stairway was flanked on both sides by a podium somewhat lower than the podium of the temple itself, and there were also certain rooms on it (Suić

stornome planu i dimenzijama forumskega kompleksa (Suić 1968: 46; Ilakovac 1999: 3, sl. 1).

Na zapadnoj strani ninskoga foruma bio je podignut glavni gradski hram. Iza njega otkriveni su mramorni ulomci korniša prizemnoga dijela trijema na temelju čega se može naslutiti da je prostor oko hrama ili možda čitav forum bio okružen portikom (Suić 1969: 91). Tomu u prilog ide i nalaz natpisa (CIL III 14322<sup>4</sup>) u kojemu se spominje izgradnja taberni i dijelova forumskega kompleksa (*pergula et maenianum*) koji se vjerojatno odnose na gornji kat portika (Schmitz 1875: 886–887; Smith 1875: 723; Medini 1969: 53, br. 13; Suić 1969: 91).

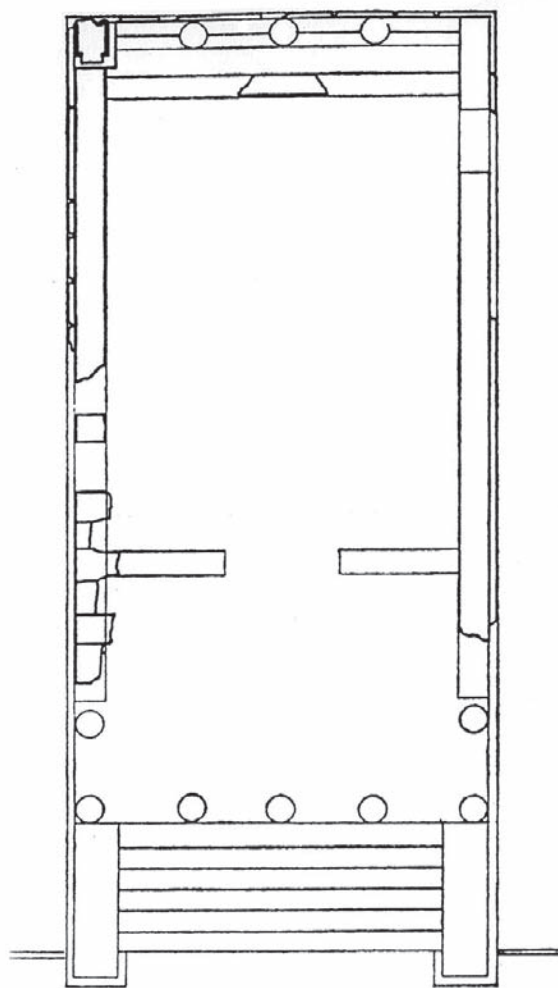
Enonski hram po svojim je dimenzijama najveći dosad poznati antički hram u Hrvatskoj (sl. 18). Bio je dugačak 24,9 m, širok 21,3 m, a visina podija iznosila je preko 3 m (Suić 1968: T. XXV, 3; 2003: 240, sl. 97; Mylonas 1971: 214; Ilakovac 1995: 205; Ilakovac 1997: 86, sl. 3). Hram ima izrazito prostran pronaos sa šest stupova na pročelju koji je zauzimao polovicu ukupne površine hrama. Drugu polovicu zauzimala je cela s dvama redovima stupova podijeljena na širu srednju i dvije užje bočne prostorije (Suić 1968: T. XXV, 2). U uzdužnim zidovima cele s obiju su se strana nalazile tri niše u kojima su vjerojatno bile smještene kultne statue božanstava štovanih u hramu (*ibid.* 49). Pristupno stepenište bilo je s obiju strana flankirano podijem nešto nižim od podija samoga hrama i na njemu su se također nalazile određene prostorije (Suić 1968: T. XXV i XXVIII, 1; Barton 1982: 270). Donekle slično arhitektonsko rješenje primijenjeno je i na forumskim hramovima u Henchir es Souaru (*Abthugni*), Medeini (*Althiburos*) i Sidi-Medieniu (*Colonia Vallitana*) u Sjevernoj Africi (Barton 1982: 270, sl. 8). Izgradnja enonskoga hrama datira se u vrijeme dinastije Flavijevaca. Na to ukazuju stilske odlike njegova dekora i ulomci natpisa s pročelnoga friza u kojemu se spominje ime Božanskoga Vespazijana (Suić 1969: 93).

Tripartitna podjela cele, visok podij i dominantan položaj karakteristike su koje hram u Enoni dijeli s drugim kapitolijskim hramovima u Italiji i provincijama, međutim i ovdje nedostaju ključni elementi potrebni za identifikaciju posvete hrama, a to su epigrafska i skulpturalna potvrda. Ulomci spomenutoga posvetnog natpisa opravdavaju pretpostavku da je hram bio u službi carskoga kulta i propagiranja rimske imperijalne vlasti.

U Ninu je pronađeno više statua rimskih vladara iz 1. st. i članova/članica njihove obitelji kojih je određen broj bio smješten možda baš u forumske hramu (Jelić 1900: 167; Suić 1968: 48, T. XXIII; 1969: 96–97, sl. 9, 10; Kolega 1989: T. II–IX; 1998: 86–89, sl. 1–6; Cambi 1998: 47–49, sl. 5–10). Svim je sigurno da je dio ovih statua bio *simulacra*,

1968: pl. XXV and XXVIII, 1; Barton 1982: 270). A somewhat similar architectural solution was also applied in the forum temples in Henchir es Souar (*Abthugni*), Medeina (*Althiburos*) and Sidi-Medienne (*Colonia Vallitana*) in North Africa (Barton 1982: 270, fig. 8). Construction of the Aenona temple date to the Flavian era. This is demonstrated by the stylistic features of its decorations and fragments of the inscription from the frontal frieze which mentions the divine Vespasian (Suić 1969: 93).

The tripartite division of the cella, the high podium and the dominant position are characteristics which the Aenona temple shares with other Capitoline temples in Italy and the provinces. Even so, here as well the key elements necessary to identify the dedication of the temple are missing, and these are epigraphic and sculptural confirmations. Fragments of the above inscription justify the hypothesis that the temple served the imperial cult and propagation of the Roman imperial authorities.



Slika 19. Poreč: "veliki" forumski hram (Baldini 2000: 452).

Figure 19. Poreč: "large" forum temple (Baldini 2000: 452).

dok su druge mogle biti i *ornamenta* forumskoga prostora.

Posebno izdvajamo uspravnu statuu cara Augusta prikazanoga s Jupiterovim atributima: na glavi nosi vijenac od hrastova lišća, u ispruženoj desnoj ruci drži pateru, a u podignutoj lijevoj ruci žezlo (Kolega 1989: 15, T. II–V; 1998: 86, sl. 1; Cambi 1998: 47, sl. 5; 2002: 126, sl. 176; Giunio 2005a: 217, sl. 5). S druge strane ističemo statuu iz gliptoteke Ny Carlsberg u Kopenhagenu koja se identificira s Junonom, a pretpostavlja se da potječe iz Nina (Giunio 1992: 53, sl. 1; 2005a: 216, sl. 4). Možda je i ova statua, kao i ona cara Augusta, kulna statua, i to carice iz 1. st. koja je bila prikazana u pozi božice Junone. Ne može se pouzdano identificirati zbog dekapitacije. Isto vrijedi i za ninsku statuu koja se identificira s Izidom, a može biti i Kleopatra koja se često predstavljala atributima ove božice (Cambi 1998: 49, sl. 9; Giunio 2005a: 218, sl. 7).

Pri istraživanju pročelja enonskoga hrama otkrivena je temeljna arhitektura starije građevine iz rimskoga perioda koja je prethodila obnovi foruma u vrijeme Flavijevaca (Mylonas 1971: 214). Vjerojatno se radi o ostacima manjega hrama koji je na forumu bio podignut početkom 1. st. (Giunio 1997: 232). Za njega se također pretpostavlja da je bio kulno mjesto Kapitolijske trijade i da je spomenuta statua Junone bila dio njegova inventara (Giunio 1992: 56). Međutim kako slabo poznajemo taj hram, ne možemo argumentirati pretpostavke o njegovoj posveti. Ono što je izvjesno u vezi s enonskim forumskim kompleksom jest dominacija carskoga kulta kroz opsežnu i sustavnu carsku propagandu kojoj su tragovi i danas brojni.

## POREČ (*PARENTIUM*)

Pretpostavlja se da je kapitolijski hram postojao i u koloniji rimskih građana u Poreču (*Parentium*). Ondje se s hramom Kapitolijske trijade identificira “veliki” rimski hram na trgu Marafor u zapadnome dijelu grada (sl. 19) (Baldini 2000: 452). To je bio glavni trg rimskoga grada, dok se u kasnijim razdobljima središte javnoga života izmjestilo na manji gradski trg u blizini luke (Ivančević 1964: 11). Rimski forum imao je kvadratni tlocrt dimenzija oko 45 m, što odgovara površini jedne gradske insule (Prelog 1957: 45; Baldini 2000: 452). Sa sjeverne i južne strane bio je omeđen trijemovima, na istočnoj strani nastavljao se na glavnu uzdužnu gradsku prometnicu (*decumanus maximus*), a na njegovu zapadnome dijelu nalazili su se hramovi (Baldini 2000: 452).

Several statues of first-century Roman rulers and members of their families were found in Nin, some of which were probably situated in the forum temple itself (Jelić 1900: 167; Suić 1968: 48, pl. XXIII; 1969: 96–97, fig. 9, 10; Kolega 1989: pl. II–IX; 1998: 86–89, figs. 1–6; Cambi 1998: 47–49, figs. 5–10). It is entirely certain that a part of these statues were *simulacra*, while others may also have been *ornamenta* of the forum area.

Particularly interesting is the upright statue of Augustus depicted with Jupiter's attributes: he wears an oak-leaf wreath on his head and holds a patera in his right hand and a sceptre in his raised left hand (Kolega 1989: 15, pl. II–V; 1998: 86, fig. 1; Cambi 1998: 47, fig. 5; 2002: 126, fig. 176; Giunio 2005a: 217, fig. 5). On the other hand there is the statue from the Ny Carlsberg Gliptotek in Copenhagen identified with Juno, which is assumed to have come from Nin (Giunio 1992: 53, fig. 1; 2005a: 216, fig. 4). Perhaps this statue, like that of Emperor Augustus, is a cult statue, dedicated to a first-century empress who was shown in the pose of the goddess Juno. It cannot be reliably identified due to its decapitation. The same applies to a statue identified with Isis, which may also be Cleopatra who is often depicted with the attributes of this goddess (Cambi 1998: 49, fig. 9; Giunio 2005a: 218, fig. 7).

During research into the façade of the Aenona temple, the foundational architecture of an older building from the Roman period was discovered which preceded reconstruction of the forum during the Flavian era (Mylonas 1971: 214). These are probably the remains of a smaller temple erected in the forum at the beginning of the first century (Giunio 1997: 232). This was also assumed to be a cult site of the Capitoline Triad and the aforementioned statue of Juno is believed to have been a part of its inventory (Giunio 1992: 56). However, since little is known of this temple, there are no sound arguments to back conjecture on its dedication. What is certain of the Aenona forum complex is the domination of the imperial cult through extensive and systematic imperial propaganda with numerous vestiges to this day.

## POREČ (*PARENTIUM*)

It is generally assumed that a Capitoline temple also existed in the colony of Roman citizens in Poreč (*Parentium*). There the “large” Roman temple on the Marafor square in the city's western end is identified as the temple of the Capitoline Triad (Fig. 19) (Baldini 2000: 452). This was the main square of the Roman city, while in later periods the hub of public life moved to the smaller city square near the har-



Glavni hram, u literaturi spominjan kao “veliki”, bio je dugačak 30 m, a širok nešto više od 15,5 m (Pogatschnig 1926: 6; Baldini 1997). Svojevremeno se držalo da je bio posvećen bogu Marsu (Amoroso 1908: 191; Pogatschnig 1926: 6; Kandler 1908: 207). Izgrađen je na najvišoj gradskoj koti koja je bila za oko 2 m viša od razine foruma. Još je uvijek vidljiv dio začelnoga zabata i gotovo čitav stilobat hrama. Na temelju širine hrama i pretpostavke da je bio posvećen božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade drži se da je cela bila tripartitno podijeljena (Baldini 2000: 453). Sjeverno od hrama postojao je manji hram dimenzija 18,9 m × 9,5 m (Šonje 1963: 98). Između dvaju hramova pronađeni su ostaci još jedne rimske građevine dimenzija 17,5 m × 13 m. To bi možda

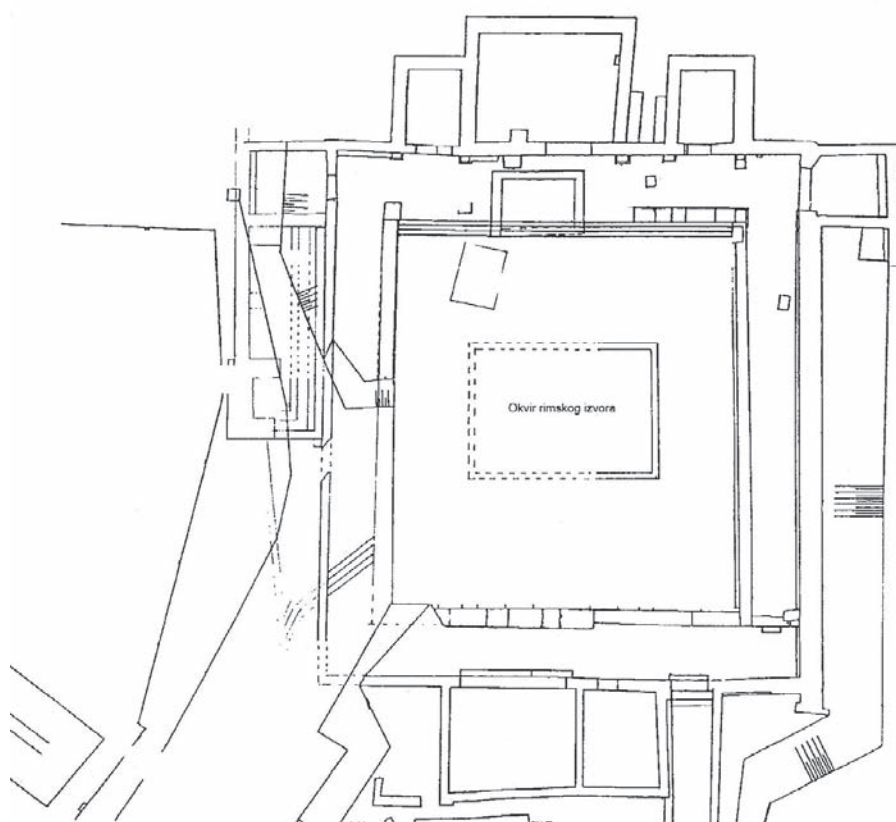
bour (Ivančević 1964: 11). The Roman forum had a square layout with dimensions of approximately 45 m, which corresponds to the surface of a single city insula (Prelog 1957: 45; Baldini 2000: 452). On the northern and southern sides it was bordered by porticoes, on the east the main longitudinal city thoroughfare (*decumanus maximus*) continued, while on the western side there were temples (Baldini 2000: 452).

The main temple, called “large” in the literature, was 30 m long, a little over 15.5 m wide (Pogatschnig 1926: 6; Baldini 1997). At one time it was believed to have been dedicated to the god Mars (Amoroso 1908: 191; Pogatschnig 1926: 6; Kandler 1908: 207). It was constructed at the highest point in the city,

which was approximately 2 m higher than the forum’s level. A part of the rear pediment and almost the entire temple stylobate are still visible. Based on the temple’s width and the assumption that it was dedicated to the deities of the Capitoline Triad, it is believed that the cella had a tripartite division (Baldini 2000: 453). North of the temple there was a smaller temple with dimensions of 18.9 m × 9.5 m (Šonje 1963: 98). Between these two temples, the remains of another Roman building were found, which had dimensions of 17.5 m × 13 m. This may have been the older temple constructed prior to the “large” and “small” temples (*ibid.* 99).

The hypothesis on the existence of a temple of the

Capitoline Triad in Poreč is based on the view that a colony of Roman citizens must have had such a temple, on the fact that the temple has a high podium, and on the discovery of the thorax about which there is uncertainty as to whether it belonged to a monumental statue of either Jupiter or Neptune. For now, the only certain thing is that there are no unequivocal indicators as to whom the temples on the Poreč forum were dedicated. At one time a dedicatory inscription to Neptune and the deities of the imperial cult (*Neptuno deisquae Augustis*) were found in the sea west of the harbour (Amoroso 1908: 201, fig. 14; Pogatschnig 1926: 12, 13). The dedication was commissioned by Titus Abudius



Slika 20. Varaždinske Toplice: forumski kompleks s hramovima (Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan Špalj 2003: 92).

Figure 20. Varaždinske Toplice: forum complex with temples (Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan Špalj 2003: 92).

mogao biti stariji hram izgrađen prije “velikoga” i “maloga” hrama (*ibid.* 99).

Pretpostavka o postojanju hrama Kapitolijske trijade u Poreču temelji se na mišljenju da u koloniji rimskih građana mora obavezno postojati takav hram, na činjenici da hram ima visok podij i na pronalasku toraksa za koji nije sigurno je li bio dio monumentalne Jupiterove ili Neptunove statue. Si-

gurno je samo to da zasad nema sigurnih pokazatelja komu su bili posvećeni hramovi na porečkome forumu. Svojevremeno je u moru zapadno od luke pronađen posvetni natpis *Neptuno deisquae Augustis* (Amoroso 1908: 201, sl. 14; Pogatschnig 1926: 12, 13). Posvetu je naručio Tit Abudije Ver, postsu-bprefekt ravenatske mornarice, a spominje obnovu hrama, podizanje luke i izgradnju vlastita doma. Hram je služio propagiranju imperijalne vlasti, međutim njegova identifikacija s jednim od poznatih porečkih hramova vrlo je upitna.

### VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE (*AQUAE IASAE*)

U panonskome dijelu Hrvatske također postoje hramovi koji se identificiraju s hramovima Kapitolijske trijade. U Varaždinskim Toplicama (*Aquae Iasae*) istražen je kupališni kompleks s bazilikom i forum s trima hramovima za koje se pretpostavlja da su bili posvećeni božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade. Dosad je izdvojeno više građevinskih faza toga antičkog naselja, a datiraju se od 1. do 4. st. Najveći dio istražene arhitekture nastao je početkom 4. st. kada je naselje bilo obnovljeno zahvaljujući inicijativi cara Konstantina (Čabrian *et. al.* 1966: 8; Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 16; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 16).

Obilježja prve građevinske faze iz 1. st. poznata su samo u tragovima. Čini se da je forum u to vrijeme bio otvoren prostor s jednim hramom (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 10). Na jednakome razmaku od toga hrama kasnije su prigradena dva manja hrama, a s istočne je i zapadne strane foruma podignut trijem (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 12; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 19). Pretpostavlja se da su ovi hramovi bili tetrastili (Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997: 20). Od 2. st. nadalje forumski kompleks više je puta bio obnavljan i dograđivan, ali mu se izgled i funkcija nisu radikalno mijenjali sve do opsežnih građevinskih aktivnosti u Konstantinovo vrijeme kada je postojeća arhitektura izbrisana ili uklopljena u novi prostorni plan.

Nakon obnove u Konstantinovo doba forum je izgledao ovako (sl. 20): središnji je dio imao otprilike kvadratnu osnovu i dimenzije 26 m × 23 m; bio je ograđen trijemom sa svih četiriju strana, a na sjevernoj se strani nalazilo stubište preko kojega se kroz trijem dolazilo do forumskih hramova (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 18; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997: 18). U središtu foruma nalazio se izvor/bazen termalne vode; dimenzije su mu približno 12,5 m × 9 m (Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan 1999: 72; Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan Špalj 2003: 92). Tri hrama na sjevernoj strani foruma zasebni su arhitektonski objekti uklopljeni u cjelinu forumskoga kompleksa jedinstvenom pročelnom fasadom (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 20–21, sl.

Verus, the post-subprefect of the Ravenna navy, and it mentions the renovation of the temple, the raising of the harbour and the construction of his own home. The temple served to propagate the imperial authorities, although its identification with one of the known Poreč temples is very dubious.

### VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE (*AQUAE IASAE*)

Temples identified as temples of the Capitoline Triad also exist in the Pannonian part of Croatia. In Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*), research was conducted at the bath complex with a basilica and a forum with three temples, which are assumed to have been dedicated to the deities of the Capitoline Triad. So far several construction phases of this Roman settlement have been discerned, dating from the first to fourth centuries. Most of the examined architecture emerged at the beginning of the fourth century, when the settlement was reconstructed thanks to the initiative of Emperor Constantine (Čabrian *et. al.* 1966: 8; Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 16; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 16).

The features of the first construction phase of the first century are known only in traces. It would appear that the forum at this time was an open space with a single temple (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 10). Two smaller temples were later constructed at equal distances from this temple, while a portico was raised from the eastern and western sides of the forum (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 12; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 19). It is assumed that these temples were tetrastyles (Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997: 20). From the second century onward the forum complex was restored and expanded several times, but its appearance and function did not change radically until the extensive construction activities during Constantine's reign, when the existing architecture was erased or incorporated into the new physical scheme.

After reconstruction during Constantine's reign, the forum looked like this (Fig. 20): the central portion had a roughly quadratic basis and dimensions of 26 m × 23 m; it was bordered by a portico on all four sides, while on the northern side there was a stairway which led through the portico to the forum temples (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 18; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997: 18). In the middle of the forum there was a spring/pool of thermal water; its dimensions were approximately 12.5 m × 9 m (Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan 1999: 72; Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan Špalj 2003: 92). The three temples on the northern side of the forum are separate architectural structures incorporated into the whole forum complex by a single frontal facade (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 20–21, figs. 12, 13). The central

12, 13). Središnji hram, koji je naslonjen na zapadni, ima dimenzije 9 m × 7 m, a bočni hramovi 5 m × 4 m (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 20). Na istočnoj i zapadnoj strani sjevernog trijema nalazile su se dvije manje prostorije. Pretpostavlja se da su također imale kulturnu namjenu (*ibid.*).

Ispred istočnoga hrama pronađena je baza s posvetnim natpisom: posvećen je božicama Junoni i Fortuni (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 14, sl. 8; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 22, sl. 14). Smatra se da je bila u funkciji postolja Junonine statue. U zapadnome hramu pronađeno je postolje s posvetom božici Minervi i njezina kulturna statua (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 14, sl. 9; Gorenc 1984: 95–106; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 24–25, sl. 16; Cambi 2002: 112, sl. 156, 157). Nabrojani nalazi argument su za pretpostavku da je središnji hram bio posvećen vrhovnomu Jupiteru, a čitav hramski kompleks identificira se sa svetištem Kapitolijske trijade.

Takva je identifikacija hramskoga kompleksa upitna jer među poznatim epigrafskim spomenicima u tome naselju bar zasad uopće nema posveta vrhovnomu Jupiteru. Pronađena posveta Junoni također dovodi u pitanje ustaljenu interpretaciju hramova na akvejasejskom forumu (Rendić-Miočević 1992: 71). Naime tu posvetu, koja je ujedno jedina poznata Junonina posveta iz Varaždinskih Toplica, božica dijeli s Fortunom, što nije uobičajeno u kontekstu posveta božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade. Statua Minerve iz zapadnoga forumskog hrama također se ne uklapa u kontekst. Božanstva Kapitolijske trijade obično su bila prikazana kako sjede, dok je toplička Minerva uspravna, rađena po uzoru na Fidijinu statu Atene Parthenos. U znaku Minerve na akvejasejskom je forumu zapadni, to jest lijevi hram u odnosu na središnji, a u znaku Junone desni, to jest istočni hram, što predstavlja još jedno odstupanje od klasičnoga pravila za kapitolijske hramove: Junoni je bila posvećena lijeva, a Minervi desna cela hrama (Liv. VII, 35). Moguće je da je Minervin kult u Varaždinskim toplicama bio povezan s izvorom ljekovite vode na forumu. Minervin hram u sklopu rimskoga kupališta postoji u Bathu u Engleskoj (Richmond & Toynbee 1955: 97–99; Blagg 1979: 101).

## OSTALA NALAZIŠTA

Donosimo kratak pregled ostalih rimskih nalazišta u kojima su možda postojali hramovi Kapitolijske trijade. Prostorni plan rimskih naselja u njima nije dovoljno poznat, a ne postoje ni vidljivi ili objavljeni ostaci hramske arhitekture. Pretpostavlja se da su hramovi Kapitolijske trijade, osim na dosad razmatranim lokacijama, postojali u Naroni, Epidauro,

temple, which leans against the western temple, has dimensions of 9 m × 7 m, while the flanking temples have dimensions of 5 m × 4 m (Vikić-Belančić 1996: 20). Two smaller rooms were located on the eastern and western sides of the northern portico. It is assumed that these also had a cultic purpose (*ibid.*).

A base with dedicatory inscription was found in front of the eastern temple: it was dedicated to the goddesses Juno and Fortuna (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 14, fig. 8; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 22, fig. 14). It is deemed to have functioned as a pedestal to a statue of Juno. In the western temple a pedestal was found with a dedication to the goddess Minerva and her cult statue (Gorenc & Vikić 1980: 14, fig. 9; Gorenc 1984: 95–106; Vikić-Belančić 1996: 24–25, fig. 16; Cambi 2002: 112, figs. 156, 157). The sum of these finds provide an argument to back the assumption that the central temple was dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, while the entire temple complex is identified as a shrine to the Capitoline Triad.

The identification of the temple complex in this manner is dubious because among the known epigraphic monuments in this settlement, there are so far no dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The discovered dedication to Juno also raises doubts about the established interpretation of the temples on the Aquae Iasae forum (Rendić-Miočević 1992: 71). Namely, this dedication, which is also the sole known dedication to Juno in Varaždinske Toplice, is shared by the goddess with Fortuna, which is not customary in the context of dedications to the deities of the Capitoline Triad. The statue of Minerva from the western forum temple also does not fit into this context. The deities of the Capitoline Triad were normally depicted sitting, while this Minerva is standing upright, modelled after Pheidias's statue of Athena Parthenos. In the Aquae Iasae forum, the western, that is left-hand temple in relation to the central temple, is associated with Minerva, while the right-hand, i.e. eastern, temple is associated with Juno, which is another deviation from the classical rules for Capitoline temples: the left-hand cella of the temple was dedicated to Juno, while the right-hand cella to Minerva (Liv. VII, 35). It is possible that Minerva's cult in Varaždinske Toplice was associated with the source of medicinal water on the forum. A temple of Minerva within the Roman baths also existed in Bath in England (Richmond & Toynbee 1955: 97–99; Blagg 1979: 101).

## OTHER SITES

An overview of other Roman sites in which there may have been temples to the Capitoline Triad follows. The spatial layout of Roman settlements in



Sisciji i Cibalama. Postojanje hrama Kapitolijske trijade u Naroni i Epidauru pretpostavlja se samo na temelju već spomenutoga mišljenja da su sve kolonije morale imati hram posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi (Marin 1980: 208). U Sisku je pronađena veća količina pokretnoga materijala vezana uz Jupiterov i Junonin kult. Doda li se tomu da je rimska Siscija bila vrlo važna u vrijeme carstva i da je u njoj stalno bila vojska, dopušta se pretpostavka o postojanju hrama Kapitolijske trijade, no zasad se o tome ne može ozbiljno raspravljati (Šegvić 1986: 96; Rendić-Miočević 2005: 242–243). U Vinkovcima se s hramom Kapitolijske trijade identificira hram sjeveroistočno od rimskoga foruma, i to na temelju žrtvenika posvećenih Jupiteru i Minervi (Perinić 2000: 417–418, sl. 2; Iskra-Janošić 2001: 94–95). Smatra se da je forumski hram antičke Murse bio posvećen vrhovnomu Jupiteru ili caru Hadrijanu, no još uvijek nije ubiciran (Pinterović 1978: 129; Suić 1985: 68).

Spomenut ćemo lokaciju uz koju se ne veže hram Kapitolijske trijade, ali postoji mogućnost da je ondje postojao. Riječ je o rimskom Burnumu u Ivoševcima kod Kistanja. U 1. st. ondje je bio vojni logor, a nakon odlaska rimskih legija na dunavski limes naselje je steklo status municipija. Municipij se vjerojatno nalazio na istome mjestu gdje je ranije bio legijski logor, a za pomoćne su vojne jedinice, koje su u Burnumu ostale sve do kasne antike, u blizini bili izgrađeni drugi manji logori. Jedan od njih nalazi se s lijeve strane današnje ceste koja se od Šupljaje spušta prema Brljanskome jezeru. S obzirom na to da je vojska igrala značajnu ulogu u promicanju kulta Kapitolijske trijade, upravo je zbog njezine stalne prisutnosti u Burnumu moguće da je i ondje postojao kapitolij. U Burnumu je pronađen žrtvenik koji je Kapitolijskoj trijadi posvetio jedan vojni legije *I Adiutrix* (Suić 1970: 111, br. 12, T. V, 3). Iz Burnuma potječe i monumentalna mramorna Jupiterova glava koja se čuva u Kninskome muzeju (Patsch 1895: 385, sl. 10). Glava je vjerojatno pripadala Jupiterovoj kultnoj statui nadnaravne veličine koja je stajala u jednome, još uvijek neubiciranome, hramu u Burnumu. U Burnumu je pronađen i monumentalni arhitektonski reljef s prikazom pauna i Junone koja sjedi (*ibid.* 386, sl. 12). Zasad se ne može raspravljati o tome upućuju li ovi nalazi na postojanje hrama Kapitolijske trijade u Burnumu jer je slabo poznata njegova topografija.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

U ovome radu nismo namjeravali odgovoriti na otvorena pitanja o kapitolijskim hramovima. Nastojali smo tek aktualizirati temu o hramovima Kapito-

them is not sufficiently known, nor are there visible or published remains of temple architecture. It is assumed that temples to the Capitoline Triad, besides the sites considered above, also existed in Naron, Epidaurum, Siscia and Cibala. The existence of a temple to the Capitoline Triad in Naron and Epidaurum is assumed solely on the basis of the already mentioned view that all colonies had to have a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad (Marin 1980: 208). A large quantity of movable materials were found in Sisak which are associated with the cult of Jupiter and Juno. If one keeps in mind that Roman Siscia was very important during the Empire and that the army was permanently stationed there, the hypothesis on the existence of a temple of the Capitoline Triad there is reasonable, but at this point the possibility cannot be seriously discussed (Šegvić 1986: 96; Rendić-Miočević 2005: 242–243). In Vinkovci, the temple north-east of the Roman forum is identified as the temple of the Capitoline Triad, based on altars dedicated to Jupiter and Minerva (Perinić 2000: 417–418, fig. 2; Iskra-Janošić 2001: 94–95). The forum temple of Roman Mursa is believed to have been dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Emperor Hadrian, but its location has still not been precisely ascertained (Pinterović 1978: 129; Suić 1985: 68).

One location will also be mentioned which is not associated with a temple of the Capitoline Triad, although there is a possibility that it existed there. This is Roman Burnum in Ivoševci near the village of Kistanje. In the first century there was a military camp there, and after the departure of the Roman legions to the Danube limes, the settlement acquired the status of municipium. The municipium was probably located at the same site as the earlier legionary camp, while other, smaller camps were constructed for the auxiliary military units which remained in Burnum until Late Antiquity. One of them is located on the left side of the present-day road which descends from Šupljaja to Brljansko Lake. Since the army played a major role in the promotion of the Capitoline Triad cult, its constant presence in Burnum indicates the possibility of the existence of a Capitolium there. An altar was found in Burnum which was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad by a soldier of the *Legio I Adiutrix* (Suić 1970: 111, no. 12, pl. V, 3). The monumental marble head of Jupiter held in the museum in Knin also comes from Burnum (Patsch 1895: 385, fig. 10). The head probably belonged to the out-sized cult statue of Jupiter which stood on an as-yet not located temple in Burnum. A monumental architectural relief portraying a peacock and a sitting Juno was also found in Burnum (*ibid.* 386, fig. 12). For now, there can be no discussion as to whether these discoveries indicate the existence of a temple of the Capitoline

lijske trijade u Hrvatskoj, ali i na području čitavoga rimskog carstva jer određeni stereotipi o kapitolijskim ne postoje samo u hrvatskoj nego i u stranoj literaturi. Ovu su raspravu započeli Ian M. Barton (1982), Malcolm Todd (1985) i William E. Mierse (1999), no da bi se ona nastavila, valja provesti daljnja istraživanja. Nadamo se da će naši propusti potaknuti na razmišljanje, unaprijediti postojeće spoznaje i motivirati stručnjake da pišu o toj temi.

Očito je da je kult Kapitolijske trijade u Rimskome carstvu postojao sve do trećega stoljeća, ali valja se zapitati je li bio jednako popularan u svim dijelovima carstva. Broj posveta Kapitolijskoj trijadi u Hrvatskoj daleko je manji od broja posveta vrhovnomu Jupiteru i posveta koje se odnose na kult carskih ličnosti. S jedne su strane poznate samo četiri posvete izričito upućene Kapitolijskoj trijadi: jedna iz Salone (Bulić 1908: 28), jedna iz Burnuma (Suić 1970: 111, br. 12, T. V, 3) i dvije iz Murse (Celestin 1902: 101; Bulat 1989: 41, br. 8, T. IV, 2), dok s druge strane postoji više od sto četrdeset posveta vrhovnomu Jupiteru. Uzme li se u obzir broj posvetnih natpisa i činjenica da su upitne posvete forumskih hramova u Hrvatskoj, mora se posumnjati u dosadašnje pretpostavke o kultu Kapitolijske trijade u Hrvatskoj. Promjene koje su obilježile Oktavijanovo, odnosno Augustovo vrijeme, slabljenje starih republikanskih institucija, pojava principata i jačanje uloge princepsa u rimskoj državi odrazili su se i na državnu religiju. Uključivanjem u državnu propagandu principata kult Kapitolijske trijade počeo je gubiti važnost koju je imao u državnoj religiji Republike i postupno se inkorporirao u dominantan kult kojemu su središnji objekti štovanja bili rimski vladar i njegova obitelj. U posvetnom natpisu rimskoga hrama u Ksar Toual Zammelu (*Vicus Maracitanus*) u Tunisu vladarski bračni par, Septimije Sever i njegova supruga Julija Domna, izravno su identificirani s članovima Kapitolijske trijade (Barton 1982: 294).

U Augustovoj propagandi vrhovni Jupiter nije imao središnju ulogu, a njegovo je poistovjećivanje s republikanskim institucijama vjerojatno bio jedan od razloga njegova zapostavljanja u državnoj religiji ranoga principata (Fears 1981: 56, 65). Od Augusta nadalje Jupiteru se prinosila *vota* za dobrobit vladara i vladarske obitelji (*ibid.* 64). Od njega se očekivalo da sasluša molitve rimskih građana i sačuva njihova zaštitnika Augusta (*ibid.*).

U Dalmaciji i Istri ni za jedan se hram ne može sigurno reći da je bio posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi, dok u Panoniji potvrđuje postojanje u Savariji (Szombathely) i Skarabanciji (Sopron) (Paulovics 1940: 34–47; Lengyel & Radan 1980: 43–44). To je možda samo slučajnost i odraz sadašnjega poznavanja arheološke baštine. No ako se uzme u obzir da je

Triad in Burnum because so little is known of its topography.

## CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The intent of this paper was not to provide an answer to the open question of Capitoline temples. It only constituted an attempt to open the topic of Capitoline temples in Croatia, and also in the entire territory of the Roman Empire, because certain stereotypes on Capitolia do not only exist in the Croatian but also the foreign scholarly literature. This discussion was launched by Ian M. Barton (1982), Malcolm Todd (1985) and William E. Mierse (1999), but its continuation requires further research. It is this author's hope that our oversights will prompt further consideration, improve existing knowledge and motivate experts to write on this topic.

It is obvious that the cult of the Capitoline Triad in the Roman Empire existed until the third century, but it is worthwhile asking if it was uniformly popular in all parts of the Empire. The number of dedications to the Capitoline Triad in Croatia is far less than the number of dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and dedications which pertain to the personalities of the imperial cult. On the one hand, only four dedications explicitly directed at the Capitoline Triad are known: one from Salona (Bulić 1908: 28), one from Burnum (Suić 1970: 111, no. 12, pl. V, 3) and two from Mursa (Celestin 1902: 101; Bulat 1989: 41, no. 8, pl. IV, 2); while on the other hand there are over one hundred and forty dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. If one takes into consideration the number of dedicatory inscriptions and the fact that the dedications of forum temples in Croatia are dubious, the previous hypotheses on the existence of the cult of the Capitoline Triad in Croatia must be deemed suspect. The changes brought by Octavian, i.e. during the Augustan era, the weakening of old Republic institutions, the appearance of the Principate and the strengthening of the role of the Princeps in the Roman Empire were reflected in the state religion as well. Through its incorporation into the imperial propaganda, the cult of the Capitoline Triad began to lose the importance that it had in the Roman religion of the Republic and it was gradually incorporated into the dominant cult in which the central object of reverence was the Roman ruler and his family. In the dedicatory inscription of the Roman temple in Ksar Toual Zammel (*Vicus Maracitanus*) in Tunisia, the ruling spouses, Septimius Severus and his wife Julia Domna, are directly identified with the members of the Capitoline Triad (Barton 1982: 294).

riječ o određenoj pravilnosti, valja se zapitati imaju li hramovi u Panoniji kakve veze s militantnom naravi te provincije. Poznato je da je vojska imala važnu ulogu u širenju i populariziranju spomenu-toga kulta.

Nameće se još jedno pitanje: je li na opisano stanje možda utjecalo to što se jadranski i panonski djelovi Hrvatske nisu urbanizirali u isto vrijeme? Opsežna urbanizacija Panonije započela je u vrijeme Flavijevaca, a u Dalmaciji i Istri datira se u Augustovo vrijeme. Dalmatinski i istarski obalni gradovi podizani su za Augusta i njegovih nasljednika iz dinastije Julijevaca-Klaudijevaca kada je kult carske ličnosti bio posebno popularan. Možda su zbog toga na tim prostorima Augusteji brojniji od hramova Kapitolijske trijade. S druge strane početak urbanizacije u Panoniji obilježilo je osnivanje kolonija Siscije i Sirmija u doba Flavijevaca, u vrijeme kada je vrhovni Jupiter opet imao istaknutu ulogu u državnoj propagandi (Móscy 1974: 112–113; Kohlhammer 1975: 92–93).

Zasad nema sigurne potvrde da su u Hrvatskoj postojali hramovi posvećeni božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade, ali pitanje je jesu li Rimljani kapitolijem smatrali samo hram posvećen Kapitolijskoj trijadi. J. Rufus Fears (1981), Ian M. Barton (1982) i Malcolm Todd (1985) prihvatili su starije i ustaljeno mišljenje da su kapitoliji hramovi posvećeni božanstvima Kapitolijske trijade, u što se može posumnjati. To što je izvorni kapitolij na rimskome Kapitoliju bio posvećen vrhovnomu Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi ne podrazumijeva da su se u drugim rimskim gradovima kapitolijima nazivali isključivo hramovi s tom posvetom. Možda je na određivanje ranga hrama manje utjecala posveta, a više položaj, značenje i važnost hrama za lokalnu zajednicu i središnju rimsku vlast. Imitiranje religioznoga života grada Rima u provincijama uvijek je bio osebujan proces koji je uključivao brojne adaptacije i promjene u odnosu na uzor (Beard *et al.* 1998: 331).

Na natpisu iz rimskoga vojnog logora u Aalenu u provinciji Reciji, gdje je boravila *ala II Flavia milliaria pia fidelis*, spominje se obnova kapitolija s principijem, što jasno upućuje na to da su obnovitelji kapitolijem nazivali svetište u sklopu logora (*L'Année épigraphique* 1989: br. 581). U tim svetištima pohranjivale su se vojne zastave, prikazi bogova i rimskih careva (Sanader 1999: 102). Kada se riječ 'kapitolij' rabi u takvu kontekstu, njezin smisao proizlazi iz značenja koje je svetište imalo za vojničku zajednicu. Svetišta uz vojni principij za rimsku vojsku imala istu važnost kakvu je kapitolij imao za građane Rima.

In the Augustan propaganda, Jupiter Optimus Maximus did not play a central role, and his identification with the Republic institutions was probably one of the reasons for his neglect in the state religion of the early Principate (Fears 1981: 56, 65). From Augustus onward, the *vota* was offered to Jupiter for the well-being of the ruler and the ruling family (*ibid.* 64). He was expected to hear the prayers of Roman citizens and preserve their patron Augustus (*ibid.*).

One cannot state with certainty that any of the temples in Dalmatia and Istria was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, while in Pannonia there is confirmation in Savaria (Szombathely) and Scarabantia (Sopron) (Paulovics 1940: 34–47; Lengyel & Radan 1980: 43–44). This may have only been a coincidence and a reflection of the current knowledge of the archaeological heritage. But if one takes into account that there is a certain regularity, it is worthwhile asking whether the temples in Pannonia had any ties to the militant nature of these provinces. The army was known to have played an important role in the dissemination and popularisation of this cult.

Another question also arises: was this situation perhaps influenced by the fact that the Adriatic and Pannonian parts of Croatia did not urbanise at the same time? The extensive urbanisation of Pannonia commenced during the Flavian era, while in Dalmatia and Istria it dates to the Augustan era. The Dalmatian and Istrian coastal cities were raised during the reign of Augustus and his successors from the Julio-Claudian dynasty when the ruler cult was particularly popular. Perhaps this is why Augustea are more numerous in these territories than temples of the Capitoline Triad. On the other hand, the commencement of urbanisation in Pannonia was marked by the establishment of the colonies of Siscia and Sirmium during the Flavian era, when Jupiter Optimus Maximus once more played a distinguished role in the state propaganda (Móscy 1974: 112–113; Kohlhammer 1975: 92–93).

For now there are no certain confirmations that there were temples dedicated to the deities of the Capitoline Triad in Croatia, but the question remains as to whether the Romans deemed only temples dedicated to the Capitoline Triad as Capitolia. J. Rufus Fears (1981), Ian M. Barton (1982) and Malcolm Todd (1985) accepted the older and established view that Capitolia were temples dedicated to the deities of the Capitoline Triad, which is questionable. The fact that the original Roman Capitolium was dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva does not imply that in other Roman cities only temples with the same dedication were deemed Capitolia. Perhaps the determination



Kako spomenut primjer možda nije jedini, valja analizirati što veći broj povijesnih i epigrafskih izvora u kojima se pojavljuje riječ 'kapitolij'. Na taj bi se način došlo do novih spoznaja, a možda i do odgovora na brojna, zasad otvorena, pitanja.

of the rankings of temples was less influenced by the dedication, and more by the position, meaning and importance of the temple to the local community and the central Roman authorities. Imitation of the religious life of the city of Rome in the provinces was always a peculiar process that involved numerous adaptations and changes in relation to the original model (Beard *et al.* 1998: 331).

The inscription from the Roman military camp in Aalen in the province of Raetia, where the *ala II Flavia milliaria pia fidelis* was stationed, mentions the renewal of the Capitolia with the principium, which clearly indicates that the restorers of the Capitolia named the shrine in accordance with the camp (*L'Année épigraphique* 1989: no. 581). Military banners, depictions of gods and Roman emperors were stored in these shrines (Sanader 1999: 102). When the word 'Capitolium' is used in this context, its meaning follows from the significance that the shrine had to the military community. Shrines next to military principia had the same importance to the Roman military as the Capitolium had to citizens of Rome.

Since this example may not be the only one, it is worthwhile analysing the largest possible number of historical and epigraphic sources in which the word 'Capitolium' appears. New knowledge would be obtained in this manner, and perhaps answers to numerous, still open, questions as well.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Boston.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London.

## IZVORI / LITERARY SOURCES

Bennet 1988	C. E. Bennet: <i>Horace. The odes and epodes</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1988.
Frazer 1959	J. G. Frazer: <i>Ovid. Fasti</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1959.
Goold 1977	G. P. Goold: <i>Manilius. Astronomica</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1977.
Lopac & Badenko 1999	M. Lopac & V. Badenko: <i>Vitruvije. Deset knjiga o arhitekturi</i> , Golden marketing, Zagreb, 1999.
Klaić 1970	B. Klaić: <i>Publije Vergilije Maron. Eneida</i> , Zora – Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1970.
Miller 1994	F. J. Miller: <i>Ovid. Metamorphoses</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1994.
Rolfe 1961	J. C. Rolfe: <i>The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1961.
Wheeler 1959	A. J. Wheeler: <i>Ovid. Tristia. Ex Ponto</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.; W. Heinemann, London, 1959.
Whiston 1874	W. Whiston: <i>The works of Flavius Josephus, the learned and authentic Jewish historian and celebrated warrior. To which are added seven dissertations concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, James the Just, God's command to Abraham. etc.</i> , Virtue & Yorston, New York, 1874.

## LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott 1915	F. F. Abbott: "The Colonizing Policy of the Romans from 123 to 31 B.C.," <i>Classical Philology</i> 10/4, Chicago, 1915, 365–380.
Abramić 1924	M. Abramić: "Militaria Burnensia", in M. Abramić & V. Hoffiller (eds.), <i>Strena Buliciana</i> , Zagreb – Split, 1924, 221–228.
Alföldy 1974	G. Alföldy: <i>Noricum</i> , London – Boston, 1974.
Amoroso 1908	A. Amoroso: "Parenzo – Templi Romani", <i>Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia patria</i> 24, Trieste, 1908, 191–209.
Baldini 1997	M. Baldini: "Parentium – Topografia antica", <i>Atti del Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno XXVII</i> , Rovigno – Trieste, 1997, 53–212.
Baldini 2000	M. Baldini: "Parentium – prilozi čitanju urbane kronologije", <i>Opuscula archaeologica</i> 23–24, Zagreb, 2000, 451–457.
Bartoccini 1941	R. Bartoccini: "Iuppiter", in E. de Ruggiero (ed.), <i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane IV</i> , Roma, 1941, 240–262.
Barton 1982	I. M. Barton: "Capitoline Temples in Italy and the Provinces (especially Africa)", <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , II.12/1, Berlin – New York, 1982, 259–342.
Beard et al. 1998	M. Beard, J. North & S. Price: <i>Religions of Rome. Volume 1. A History</i> , Cambridge, 1998.

- Bertacchi 1989 L. Bertacchi: "Il foro romano di Aquileia, Gli studi, gli interventi e le principali scoperte fino al Marzo 1989", *Aquileia Nostra* 60, Aquileia, 1989, 33–111.
- Blagg 1979 T. F. C. Blagg: "The Date of the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath", *Britannia* 10, London, 1979, 101–107.
- Boëthius 1962 A. Boëthius: "On Tuscan Columns", *AJA* 66/3, 1962, 249–254.
- Boëthius 1978 A. Boëthius: *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, Baltimore, 1978.
- Брито́ва *et al.* 1975 Н. Н. Брито́ва, Н. М. Ло́сева & Н. А. Си́дорова: *Римский скульптурный портрет*, Москва, 1975.
- Bugarski-Mesdjian 1999 A. Bugarski-Mesdjian: "Le forum de Zadar et les 'cultes orientaux'", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 67–74.
- Budischovsky 1973 M. C. Budischovsky: "Jupiter-Ammon et Meduse dans les forums du Nord de l'Adriatique", *Aquileia Nostra* 44, Aquileia, 1973, 201–220.
- Bulat 1989 M. Bulat: "Novi rimski natpisi iz Osijeka", *Osječki zbornik* 20, Osijek, 1989, 31–51.
- Bulić 1908 F. Bulić: "Iscrizioni Inedite trovate nelle maceria delle rovine di Salona lungo la ferrovia campestre nell' a 1907", *Bulletino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata* 31, Spalato, 1908, 26–41.
- Cambi 1980 N. Cambi: "Jupiter Amon na dva spomenika iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu", in I. Erceg, A. Horvat, I. Mažuran & M. Suić (eds.), *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb, 1980, 43–50.
- Cambi 1998 N. Cambi: "Skupine carskih kipova u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji", *Histria Antiqua* 4, Pula, 1998, 45–61.
- Cambi 2000 N. Cambi: *Imago animi. Antički portret u Hrvatskoj*, Split, 2000.
- Cambi 2002 N. Cambi: *Antika*, Zagreb, 2002.
- Cambi 2002a N. Cambi: "Kiparstvo", in E. Marin (ed.), *Longae Saloniae*, Split, 2002, 117–174.
- Cambi 2005 N. Cambi: *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*, Split, 2005.
- Ceccheli 1932 C. Ceccheli: *Zara. Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia*, Roma, 1932.
- Celestin 1902 V. Celestin: "Epigrafski prilozi iz Murse", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 6, Zagreb, 1902, 99–102.
- Clairmont 1975 C. W. Clairmont: "The Topography of Salona", in C. W. Clairmont (ed.), *Excavations at Salona, Yugoslavia (1969–1972)*, New Jersey, 1975, 11–37.
- Clairmont 1975a C. W. Clairmont: "The History of the Site", in C. W. Clairmont (ed.), *Excavations at Salona, Yugoslavia (1969–1972)*, New Jersey, 1975, 106–108.
- Čabrian *et al.* 1966 J. Čabrian, B. Vikić & M. Gorenc: "Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica", *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske* 15/5, Zagreb, 1966.
- Dyggve 1991 E. Dyggve: "Salonitanski forum", in N. Cambi (ed.), *Antička Salona*, Split, 1991, 241–253.
- Džin 1999 K. Džin: "Forum u Puli – hipoteza o mjestu kulta Klaudijevaca", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 29–32.
- Elsner 1991 J. Elsner: "Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae", *JRS* 81, 1991, 50–61.
- Fadić 1986 I. Fadić: "Ime prokonzula Cn. Tamphila Vále na zdencu foruma Jadera", *Arheološki vestnik* 37, Ljubljana, 1986, 409–434.
- Fadić 1999 I. Fadić: "Gneius Baebius Tamphilus Vála Numonianus – 'Graditelj' foruma, patron Jadera i prvi prokonzul Ilirika", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 47–54.
- Fears 1981 J. R. Fears: "The cult of Jupiter and Roman imperial ideology", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II 17/1, Berlin – New York, 1981, 3–141.



- Fishwick 1961 D. Fishwick: "The Imperial cult in Roman Britain (Continued)", *Phoenix* 15/4, Toronto, 1961, 213–229.
- Fishwick 1992 D. Fishwick: "On the Temple of Divus 'Augustus'", *Phoenix* 46/3, Toronto, 1992, 232–255.
- Fishwick 1997 D. Fishwick: "The provincial centre at Camulodunum: toward a historical context", *Britannia* 28, London, 1997, 31–50.
- Frothingham 1914 A. L. Frothingham: "Discovery of the Capitolium and Forum of Verona", *AJA* 18/2, 1914, 129–145.
- Gabba 1982 E. Gabba: "Political and cultural aspects of the classicistic revival in the Augustan Age", *Classical Antiquity* 1/1, Berkeley, 1982, 43–65.
- Girardi Jurkić 1996 V. Girardi Jurkić: "Antički hramovi na forumu u Nezakciju", *Histria Antiqua* 2, Pula, 1996, 81–90.
- Girardi Jurkić 1998 V. Girardi Jurkić: "Dva centra carskog kulta rimske Istre", *Histria Antiqua* 4, Pula, 1998, 23–36.
- Girardi Jurkić 1999 V. Girardi Jurkić: "Periodizacija izgradnje antičkog foruma u Puli", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 11–19.
- Girardi Jurkić 2005 V. Girardi Jurkić: *Duhovna kultura antičke Istre, kultovi u procesu romanizacije antičke Istre*, Zagreb, 2005.
- Girardi Jurkić 2005a V. Girardi Jurkić: "Cults in Roman Istria", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 17–38.
- Giunio 1992 K. A. Giunio: "Junona, od Nina do Kopenhagena", *Diadora* 14, Zadar, 1992, 53–58.
- Giunio 1997 K. A. Giunio: *Tipologija rimskih hramova carskog doba i njihov odraz na istočnoj obali Jadrana* (neobjavljen magistarski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu / unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Zagreb), 1997.
- Giunio 1999 K. A. Giunio: "Neke bilješke o zadarskom forumu i kapitoliju", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 55–66.
- Giunio 2005 K. A. Giunio: "Carski kult u Zadru", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 167–178.
- Giunio 2005a K. A. Giunio: "Religion and myth on monuments from Zadar and surroundings in the Archaeological museum in Zadar", in M. Sanader & A. Rendić Miočević (eds.), *Akti VIII. Međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva, religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici*, Zagreb, 2005, 213–222.
- Gorenc 1984 M. Gorenc: "Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njen majstor", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 16–17, Zagreb, 1984, 95–106.
- Gorenc & Vikić 1980 M. Gorenc & B. Vikić: *Varaždinske Toplice – Aquae Iasae u antičko doba*, Varaždinske Toplice, 1980.
- Green 1927 W. M. Green: "Notes on the Augustan deities", *Classical Journal* 23/2, Northfield, 1927, 86–93.
- Hauser 1884 A. Hauser: *Il tempio di S. Donato a Zara*, Zadar, 1884.
- Ilakovac 1992 B. Ilakovac: "Jedan forum u rimskoj Saloni sigurno je poznat", *Prilozi instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 9, Zagreb, 1992, 63–68.
- Ilakovac 1995 B. Ilakovac: "Zašto je rimski forum u Ninu (Aenona) morao biti nisko sagrađen", *Diadora* 16–17, Zadar, 1995, 201–220.
- Ilakovac 1997 B. Ilakovac: "Urbanizacija antičke Enone (Aenona) i rimsko pristanište 'Kremenjača'", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 35(22), Zadar, 1995–96 [1997], 83–100.
- Ilakovac 1999 B. Ilakovac: "Liburnska i rimska Aenona (Nin)", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 37(24), Zadar, 1998 [1999], 1–14.

- Iskra-Janošić 2001 I. Iskra-Janošić: *Urbanizacija Cibala i razvoj keramičarskih središta*, Zagreb – Vinkovci, 2001.
- Ivančević 1964 R. Ivančević: "Odnos antičkog i srednjovjekovnog rastera Poreča", *Peristil* 6–7, Split, 1963–64 [1964], 5–12.
- Jelić 1900 L. Jelić: "Spomenici grada Nina", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 4, Zagreb, 1900, 156–171.
- Jones 1987 R. F. J. Jones: "A false start? The Roman urbanization of Western Europe", *World Archaeology* 19/1, London, 1987, 47–57.
- Jurkić-Girardi 1970 V. Jurkić-Girardi: "Meduza na reljefima Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli", *Histria Archaeologica* 1/2, Pula, 1970, 29–54.
- Kandler 1908 P. Kandler: "Il Foro romano di Parenzo", *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia patria* 24, Trieste, 1908, 205–209.
- Kohlhammer 1975 W. Kohlhammer: *The imperial cult under the Flavians*, preveo K. Scott, New York, 1936 [1975].
- Kolega 1989 M. Kolega: *Rimska portretna plastika iz zbirke Danieli*, Zadar, 1989.
- Kolega 1998 M. Kolega: "Carski kipovi julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije u Enoni", *Histria Antiqua* 4, Pula, 1998, 85–91.
- Krizmanić 1988 A. Krizmanić: *Komunalna palača – Pula: razvitak gradskog središta kroz dvadeset jedno stoljeće*, Pula, 1988.
- Lengyel & Radan 1980 A. Lengyel & G. T. B. Radan: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest, 1980.
- Lazar 2002 I. Lazar: "Celeia", in M. Šašel Kos & P. Scherrer (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Ljubljana, 2002, 71–101.
- MacMullen 1959 R. MacMullen: "Roman imperial building in the Provinces", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64, Cambridge, 1959, 207–235.
- MacMullen 1968 R. MacMullen: "Rural Romanization", *Phoenix* 22/4, Toronto, 1968, 337–341.
- MacMullen 1990 R. MacMullen: *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*, Princeton, 1990.
- Marin 1980 E. Marin: "O antičkim kultovima u Naroni", in Ž. Rapanić (ed.), *Dolina rijeke Neretve od prethistorije do ranog srednjeg vijeka (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 5)*, Split, 1980.
- Marin & Vickers 2004 E. Marin & M. Vickers (eds.), *The Rise and Fall of an Imperial Shrine, Roman Sculpture from the Augusteum at Naronia*, Split, 2004.
- Marušić 1986 B. Marušić: "Prilog poznavanju kasnoantičkog Nezakcija", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 16, Split, 1986, 51–76.
- Matijašić 1996 R. Matijašić: "Kamena arhitektonska dekoracija hramova u Nezakciju", *Histria Antiqua* 2, Pula, 1996, 91–110.
- Matijašić 1999 R. Matijašić: "Neka topografska pitanja pulskog foruma", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 21–28.
- Medini 1969 J. Medini: "Epigrafički podaci o munificencijama i ostalim javnim gradnjama iz antičke Liburnije", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 6/3, Zadar 1964–67 [1969], 45–74.
- Mierse 1999 W. E. Mierse: *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Sanctuary Designs, from the Third Century B. C. to the Third Century A. D.*, Berkeley, 1999.
- Mihovilić 1996 K. Mihovilić: *Nezakcij: nalaz grobnice 1981. godine (Monografije i katalogi 6)*, Pula, 1996.
- Mihovilić 2001 K. Mihovilić: *Nezakcij: prapovijesni nalazi 1900.–1953. (Monografije i katalogi 11)*, Zagreb, 2001.

- Mihovilić & Matijašić 1998 K. Mihovilić & R. Matijašić: *Nesactium (Kulturno-povijesni spomenici Istre 7)*, Fažana, 1998.
- Mlakar 1978 Š. Mlakar: *Antička Pula*, Pula, 1978.
- Móscy 1974 A. Móscy: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia (A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire)*, London – Boston, 1974.
- Mylonas 1971 G. E. Mylonas: "Seventy-second General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America", *AJA* 75/2, 1971, 194–217.
- Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997 D. Nemeth-Ehrlich (ed.): *Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice: Vizualizacija rimske arhitekture*, Zagreb – Varaždin, 1997.
- Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan 1999 D. Nemeth-Ehrlich & D. Kušan: "Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi i zaštitna istraživanja na antičkom kompleksu u Varaždinskim Toplicama u godini 1997. i 1998.", *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 31/1, Zagreb, 1999, 68–74.
- Nemeth-Ehrlich & Kušan Špalj 2003 D. Nemeth-Ehrlich & D. Kušan Špalj: "Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi i zaštitna istraživanja na antičkom kompleksu u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 1999. do 2001.", *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 35/1, Zagreb, 2003, 91–101.
- Newton 1885 C. T. Newton: "Statue of an emperor in the British Museum", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 6, London, 1885, 378–380.
- Obad-Vučina 1999 M. Obad-Vučina: "Na tragu specifične funkcije, organizacije i proporcija pulskog foruma i utvrđivanja njegova smještaja u okviru centurijacije agera kolonije", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 33–45.
- Pacifici 1920 V. Pacifici: "Notes on some recent discoveries at Tivoli. The Temple of Hercules", *JRS* 10, 1920, 90–95.
- Patsch 1895 K. Patsch: "Rimski kameniti spomenici kninskog muzeja", *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* 7, Sarajevo, 1895, 379–522.
- Paulovics 1940 S. Paulovics: "Il Capitolium di Savaria (Szombathely)", *Archaeologiai Értesítő* ser. 3, vol. 1, Budapest, 1940, 34–47.
- Perinić 2000 Lj. Perinić: "O zavjetnom natpisu Minervi", *Opuscula archaeologica* 23–24, Zagreb, 2000, 417–424.
- Perret 1956 M. V. Perret: "Le Capitole de Narbonne", *Gallia* 14/1, Paris, 1956, 1–22.
- Pinterović 1978 D. Pinterović: *Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba*, Osijek, 1978.
- Platner & Ashby 1929 S. B. Platner & T. Ashby: *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929.
- Pogatschnig 1926 A. Pogatschnig, "Il Tempio romano maggiore di Parenzo", *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 38/2, Trieste, 1926, 1–28.
- Prelog 1957 M. Prelog: *Poreč – grad i spomenici*, Beograd, 1957.
- Rendić-Miočević 2005 A. Rendić-Miočević: "O kultu Jupitera i Junone na području Siska", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 241–262.
- Rendić-Miočević 1977 D. Rendić-Miočević: "Antička Salona (Salonae) – povijesno-urbanistički i spomenički fenomen", *Arhitektura* 31, Zagreb, 1977, 54–69.
- Rendić-Miočević 1991 D. Rendić-Miočević: "Teatar u Saloni s osobitim obzirom na neke njegove kompozicijske i tehničke karakteristike", in N. Cambi (ed.), *Antička Salona*, Split, 1991, 255–267.
- Rendić-Miočević 1992 D. Rendić-Miočević: "O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 24–25, 3. ser., Zagreb, 1992, 67–76.
- Riccioni 1975 G. Riccioni: "Falera bronzea ariminense con protome di Jupiter-Ammon", *Aquileia nostra* 45–46, Aquileia, 1975, 503–512.



- Richmond & Toynbee 1955 I. A. Richmond & J. M. C. Toynbee: "The Temple of Sulis-Minerva at Bath", *JRS* 45, 1955, 97–105.
- Rives 2001 J. B. Rives: "Imperial cult and native tradition in Roman North Africa", *Classical Journal* 96/4, Northfield, 2001, 426–436.
- Rodà 1998 I. Rodà: "Espacios de representación y de culto dinástico en la provincia de Hispania Citerior", *Histria Antiqua* 4, Pula, 1998, 117–126.
- Rodà 1999 I. Rodà: "Foros y epigrafía: algunos ejemplos de Hispania Citerior", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 121–130.
- Rosada 1997 G. Rosada: "Moguća schola kod foruma u Nezakciju", in V. Girardi-Jurkić (ed.), *Međunarodno arheološko savjetovanje 'Carski kult na istočnom Jadranu'*, Pula 27.–30. studenog 1997: program i sažeci priopćenja, Pula, 1997, 42.
- Ross Taylor 1920 L. Ross Taylor: "The worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 51, Baltimore, 1920, 116–133.
- Ross Taylor 1975 L. Ross Taylor: *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, New York, 1931 [1975].
- Russell 1968 J. Russell: "The origin and development of Republican forums", *Phoenix* 22/4, Toronto, 1968, 304–336.
- Sablayrolles & Tassaux 1999 R. Sablayrolles & F. Tassaux: "Fora et places publiques des villes d'Aquitaine", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 131–149.
- Sanader 1999 M. Sanader: "Principia rimskog vojnog logora – uzor forumu kolonijalnih gradova?", *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula, 1999, 99–108.
- Santosuosso 2004 A. Santosuosso: *Storming the Heavens: Soldiers, Emperors and Civilians in the Roman Empire*, London, 2004.
- Schmid 1924 W. Schmid: "Torzo einer Kaiserstatue im Panzer", in M. Abramić & V. Hoffer (eds.), *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb – Split, 1924, 45–53.
- Simpson 1977 C. J. Simpson: "The date of dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor", *JRS* 67, 1977, 91–94.
- Schmitz 1875 L. Schmitz: "Pergula", in W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1875, 886–887.
- Smith 1875 P. Smith: "Maenianum", in W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1875, 723.
- Stamper 2005 J. W. Stamper: *The Architecture of Roman Temples, The Republic to the Middle Empire*, Cambridge, 2005.
- Starac 1996 A. Starac: "Forum u Puli", *Opuscula archaeologica* 20, Zagreb 1996, 71–89.
- Starac 1999 A. Starac: *Rimsko vladanje u Istriji i Liburniji I (Monografije i katalogi 10/I)*, Fažana, 1999.
- Starac 2005 A. Starac: "Statue of a roman goddess from the forum of Pula", in M. Sanader & A. Rendić Miočević (eds.), *Akti VIII. Međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva, religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici*, Zagreb, 2005, 197–200.
- Suić 1967 M. Suić: *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb, 1967.
- Suić 1968 M. Suić: "Nin u antici", in Š. Batović, J. Belošević & M. Suić (eds.), *Nin, problemi arheoloških istraživanja*, Zadar, 1968, 35–52.
- Suić 1969 M. Suić: "Antički Nin (Aenona) i njegovi spomenici", in G. Novak i V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest grada Nina*, Zadar, 1969, 61–104.
- Suić 1970 M. Suić: "Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma", *Diadora* 5, Zadar, 1970, 93–129.
- Suić 1977 M. Suić: "Zadarski forum – stari trg u novom gradu", *Arhitektura* 31, Zagreb, 1977, 38–52.
- Suić 1981 M. Suić: *Zadar u starom vijeku (Prošlost Zadra I)*, Zadar, 1981.

- Suić 1985 M. Suić: "Mursensia quaedam", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 18, 3. ser., Zagreb 1985, 57–70.
- Suić 1991 M. Suić: "O municipalitetu antičke Salone", in N. Cambi (ed.), *Antička Salona*, Split, 1991, 65–98.
- Suić 2003 M. Suić: *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb, 2003.
- Šašel Kos 1994 M. Šašel Kos: "Private munificence in Salonae under the principate", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 86, Split, 1993 [1994], 201–214.
- Šašel Kos 2005 M. Šašel Kos: *Appian and Illyricum*, Celje, 2005.
- Šegvić 1986 M. Šegvić: "Antički kultovi u Sisku i Topuskome", in N. Majnarić-Pandžić (ed.), *Arheološka istraživanja na karlovačkom i sisačkom području (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 10)*, Zagreb, 1985 [1986], 95–101.
- Šonje 1963 A. Šonje: "Colonia Julia Parentium, Poreč – ostaci antičke arhitekture", *Arheološki pregled* 5, Beograd, 1963, 98–100.
- Taylor 2002 R. Taylor: "Temples and terracottas at Cosa", *AJA* 106/1, 2002, 59–83.
- Todd 1985 M. Todd: "Forum and Capitolium in the early Empire", in F. Grew & B. Hobbey (eds.), *Roman urban topography in Britain and the western Empire (CBA Research Report 59)*, London, 1985, 56–66.
- Vetters 1977 H. Vetters: "Virunum", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II/6, Berlin – New York, 1977, 302–354.
- Vikić-Belančić 1996 B. Vikić-Belančić: "Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja lokaliteta u Varaždinskim Toplicama", *Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad Varaždin* 8–9, Varaždin, 1996, 11–34.
- Ward 1933 M. Ward: "The Association of Augustus with Jupiter", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 9, Roma, 1933, 203–224.
- Ward-Perkins 1967 J. B. Ward-Perkins: "An early Augustan capital in the Forum Romanum", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35, London, 1967, 23–28.
- Ward-Perkins 1970 J. B. Ward-Perkins: "From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the early Provincial architecture of the Roman West", *JRS* 60, 1970, 1–19.
- Ward-Perkins 1981 J. B. Ward-Perkins: *Roman Imperial Architecture*, New Haven – London, 1981.
- Weigand 1924 E. Weigand: "Die Stellung Dalmatiens in der Römischen Reichskunst", in M. Abramić & V. Hoffiller (eds.), *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb – Split, 1924, 77–105.
- Wilkes 1969 J. J. Wilkes: *Dalmatia (History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire)*, London, 1969.
- Woolf 1997 G. Woolf: "Beyond Romans and Natives", *World Archaeology* 28/3, London, 1997, 339–350.
- Wroth 1885 W. Wroth: "A Torso of Hadrian in the British Museum", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 6, London, 1885, 199–201.
- Zadoks Jitta 1938 A. Zadoks Jitta: "Jvppiter Capitolinvs", *JRS* 28, 1938, 50–55.
- Zanker 1990 P. Zanker: *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor, 1990.

